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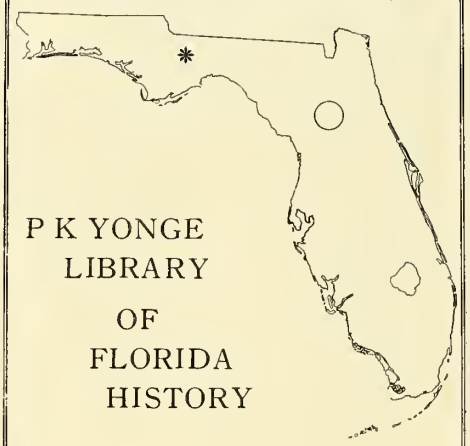

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MISSIONARY WORK OF THE FRANCISCANS

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MISSIONARY WORK OF THE FRANCISCANS

By Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M

Missions for the conversion of pagan nations began with the advent of Christianity. They are the result of Christ's command to his Apostles: "Go ye into the whole world and teach all nations and teach them to observe whatever I have told you." These first missionaries have passed away, but the Church founded upon the Apostles continued the work of gathering tribes and nations into the fold of Christ. Her messengers have at all times made their way to the most distant parts of the earth, in order to establish missionary stations where all might learn the truths of salvation.

From the time of St. Benedict, the patriarch of the monks of the West, the Church discharged her duty of converting infidel peoples mainly through religious Orders whose members devote themselves to missionary work. To this class of zealous men belong the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, who in the order named undertook the Christianization of the natives of the New World.

The Franciscan Order, which was the first in the field, was founded by Francis, the son of the Assisian merchant, Peter Bernardone. At the age of twenty-four years, young Bernardone began to devote himself to the exercises of piety, to the contemplation of the Life, Passion, and Death of his Divine Savior, and to weeping for his sins, although, as his biographers declare, Francis never committed grievous sin. Others, young and old, learned and unlearned, wealthy and poor,

laymen and ecclesiastics, attracted by the wonderful example of the youthful penitent, and moved by the same irresistible, yet sweet, supernatural force which had changed the son of the wealthy Bernardone, attached themselves to the "Poor Little One of Assisi," as Francis called himself, with the request that he direct them on the path of Christian perfection.

Francis saw that his youthful dreams were to be realized after all, though in a manner quite different from what he had fancied in the days of his worldly ambition. He was, indeed, to be the leader of a great army, but the foes should be the enemies of immortal souls rather than the petty opponents of his native city; the weapons should be the preaching of the Word of God; and the commissary or quartermaster, none other than "My Lady Poverty." Guided by the light from above, meditation on the Life and Death of the Divine Master convinced him that it was better to pray and labor for the conversion of sinners, than merely to weep for their sins; and that he and his disciples, at all events, were chosen to preach the Gospel. Hence it was, instead of becoming a contemplative institution, the Order of Friars Minor was founded as a distinctively missionary brotherhood of which the founder himself was the first missionary.

But the Friars were not to confine their preaching to people already civilized and Christianized. St. Francis, therefore, begins the last chapter of his Rule with these unmistakable words: "If any one of the friars by divine inspiration desires to go among the Saracens or other infidels he shall ask permission therefor from his

minister-provincial; but the ministers shall give permission to those only whom they deem fit to be sent." The zealous patriarch himself regarded missions among heathen people so important and so pleasing to God, that he resolved to be the first to devote himself to that work.

With this end in view, Francis embarked for the land hallowed by the footsteps and Blood of his Divine Master, in order to preach Christ to the Mohamedans in Palestine, then as now controlled by the partisans of Mohamed. Contrary winds, however, forced the vessel back to Italy, and frustrated his first attempt at a foreign mission. He then set out for Morocco; but he had scarcely arrived in Spain, when he was recalled to settle important business in connection with his Order. These efforts, though ending in failure, plainly show the bent of the holy founder's mind. Nor would he abandon his plans for the conversion of unbelievers. At the second general chapter, held at Assisi in 1219, the friars under his direction took systematic action to organise missionary bands and to include the whole world in the range of their evangelical activity.

* * * *

Equipped with the approbation of the Holy See and the blessing of their beloved father, the friars set out barefooted for their laborious task, having "no scrip, no bread, nor money in their purse, but shod with sandals," like the Apostles of old. Brother Benedict of Arezzo, with a number of companions, was sent to Greece; Brother John of Parent and one hundred brethren were directed to preach in Spain; Brother Agnello of Pisa and others were ordered to England with the

brief mandate: "I, Brother Francis of Assisi, Minister-General, command you, Brother Agnello of Pisa, in virtue of holy obedience, to go to England and there to discharge the office of minister-provincial. Farewell." Other friars went elsewhere, and six of the brethren were told to preach Christ and his Gospel to the Moors of Morocco. Five arrived at their destination only to suffer a violent death at the hands of fanatical Sultan in 1220, and thus became the proto-martyrs of the Seraphic Order.

Francis again chose the Holy Land. With one companion he landed in Syria, then occupied by the Sultans of Damascus and Egypt. Though Meledin, the Sultan of Egypt, had offered a prize for the head of every Christian, Francis boldly approached the Mahomedan headquarters. To the amazement of his court Meledin listened with marked attention to the fervent address of the barefooted stranger, and sent him back unharmed to the Christian camp. Seeing that it was not the will of God that he should suffer martyrdom for Christ, as he had hoped, Francis returned to Italy, where he closed his wonderful career on October 4th, 1226, at the age of forty-four years.

The Friars Minor have ever since regarded the preaching of the Gospel to heathen people as one of the most sacred legacies bequeathed by their holy founder, as is evident from the efforts made by the superiors at all times to obtain volunteers for the missions in foreign countries. Referring to the Chinese and Turks, for instance, the official organ of the Seraphic Family, the Acta Sanctae, in February 1903, declared, "The Very Rev. Fathers Provincial must needs be

generous and well-disposed in presenting missionaries to the Most Rev. Father General. Those acting contrariwise may greatly fear to incur the severest judgment from the Savior of the world for having impeded the conversion of souls. We must bear in mind that the scope of our Order is not restricted to the well-being of believing nations, but chiefly consists in the conversion of unbelievers."

It is owing to this ever active missionary spirit among the Friars Minor that millions upon millions of American Indians have obtained the Christian faith. The children of St. Francis were, indeed, the principal factors in the very discovery of America, inasmuch as the persons most prominently connected with that event belonged to the Seraphic Family. Fr. Juan Perez, the friend and counselor of Columbus, was the guardian or superior of the Franciscan monastery at La Rabida; Queen Isabella of Spain wore the cord and scapular as a member of the Third Order of St. Francis; and the great navigator likewise belonged to the Third Order. Fr. Juan Perez accompanied his illustrious friend on the second voyage, and landed on the island of Hispaniola, or Hayti, in 1493. At Port Conception he built the first chapel in the New World of boughs, and there on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, offered up the first holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and in the name of Jesus Christ blessed the land in whose discovery he had taken so conspicuous a part.

Besides Fr. Perez, a number of Franciscans, Hieronymites, and a few secular priests under apostolic vicar, Very Rev. Bernardo Buil,

landed at Hispaniola. The secular clergy attended the spiritual wants of the Spaniards, whereas the religious devoted to the conversion of the natives. The vicar-apostolic, however, returned to Spain in the following year. In honor of St. Francis Columbus had a monastery of stone erected for the Franciscan Friars at a place around which in the course of time arose the city of San Domingo. This was the first Franciscan convent in America, and Juan Perez was appointed its first guardian. Another monastery was built on the same island at La Vega. In connection with both houses the Franciscans conducted the first school for boys.

Upon the advice of Cardinal Ximenes, himself a Franciscan, ten additional Fathers were sent to Hispaniola in 1502. They brought along the first church bells. About this time also the Friars first passed over to Cuba and, with the assistance of the natives, erected the first convent there. It was dedicated to St. James, the patron of Spain. The general chapter of the Order, held in 1505, only thirteen years after the discovery of San Salvador, organized the convents of the West Indies into an independent province under the title of the Holy Cross. It was the first of its kind in America.

From these missionary outposts the intrepid Friars penetrated into the vast unknown regions of the New World. In the torrid clime of the South, in the rugged mountains of Central American and Mexico, in the sunny plains of California, in our own southern states along the gulf of Mexico, the fearless Friars were seen, announcing the glad tidings of the gospel to the poor pagans "still sitting in the shadow of death."

Nor was the northern part of the continent overlooked by the zeal of the Seraphic Saint during the period of discovery. The unambitious Franciscan, Le Caron, says the Historian, George Bancroft, "years before the Pilgrims anchored in Cape Cod, had penetrated the land of the Mohawk, had passed to the north into the hunting grounds of the Hyandots, and, bound by his vows to the life of a beggar, had on foot, or paddling a canoe, gone onward, and still onward, taking alms of the savages till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron."

Indeed, the account of the missionary work of the Franciscans among the North American Indians is one of the brightest pages in the history both of the New World and of the Franciscan Order.

Note—This chapter is taken from "The Missions and Missionaries of California." San Francisco, Cal. The James H. Barry Co.

THE SPIRIT OF THE EARLY INDIAN MISSIONARIES

Having previously discussed the obligation of the Friars Minor to labor for the conversion of heathen tribes and nations, we shall now dwell upon the sentiments that animated the early missionaries who went forth to battle against visible and invisible powers in behalf of immortal souls. Theirs was an extremely difficult task, not to say, a forlorn hope. For their enemies were in reality not of flesh and blood; they were the merciless spirits of darkness who merely laugh at the feeble efforts of a timid, half hearted or easy-going foe. Hence it was that St. Francis, like a wise and skillful general, wanted only volunteers, brave, active, and whole-souled men, to be entrusted with the errand.

For the soldier in the enemy's country a watchword is necessary, and in the struggle itself a battlecry is highly important. In that great battle that ensued in the forecourt of Heaven when Lucifer raised the standard of revolt, it was St. Michael of the faithful host, that gave out the watchword and sounded the war-cry, "Quis ut Deus--Who is like God!" By the power of that adorable name he frustrated the arrogant assumption of Lucifer and cast him and his rebellious hordes into the abyss of hell. That battle settled, once for all, the question of the supremacy of the celestial over the infernal powers. The latter, however, smarting under their crushing defeat, shifted the scene of war from Heaven to earth, and the battle now rages between the infernal spirits and weak humanity. In this struggle the missionaries are expected

to act as officers. Woe to them and the file if they are ignorant of the enemies' tactics and country, or if courage and supplies fail them.

In their struggle against the powers of darkness it was but natural for the sons of St. Francis to look up to their holy Father as to their leader, and an able and experienced leader did they find in him. Being himself of a truly chivalrous nature, a knight without fear and without reproach, he was solicitous to instil into his followers the true spirit of a soldier of Christ. Like St. Michael, his patron, he sought only to defend and promote the honor of the Lord. God was uppermost in his thoughts and desires. Hence he never wearied of repeating the aspiration, "Deus meus et omnia--My God and my all." This favorite ejaculation of his has become the motto of his order and the watchword of all those who have ranged themselves under his glorious standard. "Ut in omnibus glorificetur Deus--That in all things God may be glorified" became their battle-cry. For such was the aim of the Seraphic Saint, and such is the aim of his children. The attentive student will find this verified wherever the sons of St. Francis set foot, and that means in almost every country and clime under the sun. This is especially true of the early Franciscan missionaries that labored within the boundaries of our own country, the missions of which we intend to take up in turn for the information and edification of the readers of the FRANCISCAN HERALD.

In obedience to the Rule and Constitutions of the order, and lest they be hampered in the struggle for the rescue of souls, the missionaries to the Indian would divest themselves of everything that savored

of attachment to anything or anyone but Almighty God whose knowledge and love it was their steady aim to implant into the hearts of the savages. Clad in the habit of St. Francis, and armed with nothing more than the breviary and the rosary, they set out for their destination, and there they labored oblivious of what was transpiring in the world at large. For nothing interested them save the spiritual advancement of their dusky charges whom they loved as though they were their own children. So absolutely did they devote themselves to their chosen work that, to adduce only one of many instances, of the one hundred and forty or more friars who Christianized the California savages, only two have left a letter each in which mention is made of relatives, and one of these letters was an official communication addressed to the governor which was unavoidable. Nor would they write about themselves, their personal experiences, their successes and failures, a custom for which the historian cares not to bless them, because it deprives him of the material which would furnish instructive and edifying chapters for the lover of the missions and the missionaries. Some of the heroic deeds, however, have come to light and it came about when satan in his fury would incite vicious men to slander and persecute the devoted and unsel f-ish friars who succeeded in saving numerous souls from his clutches.

Wonderfully detached, indeed, were these Indian missionaries of old, not only from family ties, but from everything of earthly value. Whatever was given them whether stipend or alms, was straightway lavished upon the Indians under their care. Thus, for instance, Fr. Fermin de Lasuen, who succeeded the immortal Fr. Junipero Serra as

superior of the California missions, in a long and magnificent defence of the missionaries wrung from him at the age of eighty years, could declare with pardonable pride: "In all the years of my missionary life--and they are more than thirty-six--I have not heard of half a real" (six and one fourth cents) "by the use of which any missionary might have become unworthy the name of a good Franciscan. Thanks be to God!" Such was the love of "Lady Poverty" which distinguished the friars to the last, that is to say, down to the unhappy day when the missions were confiscated under the fraudulent term of "secularization."

Naturally, whilst so detached from things worldly, the missionaries cultivated a close union with God and His Saints. It was well they did so, otherwise they must have sunk under the intolerable burden of endless privations and of human and diabolical opposition. None but those that have worked similarly, can realize the headaches and heartaches suffered by the missionary to the Indians, especially in the early days. The Jesuit Relations of Canada, the records of Father Hennepin and other Franciscans of the north, the narrative of historians on Florida, the histories of Fathers Espinosa and Arricivita on Texas and Sonora, and the descriptions of the situation in California, do not tell half of what the heroic messengers of the Gospel had to endure from the aborigines, let alone the hardships of climate and the want of food. These things are too glorious for human tongue to relate and had, therefore, better be left to the Recording Angel to note down in the Book of Life. Human approbation would be too meagre a compensation for such heroism.

Generally the undertaking to impart to the brutish savages the knowledge and love of God, of whom they had no conception or only unworthy and material notions, was a truly superhuman task, and to persuade them to abandon their beastly habits and to adopt civilized ways, was an almost hopeless undertaking. Yet the missionaries never lost heart entirely. The Lord who had led them away from home and kindred into the land of these wretched barbarians, would show them a means by which they would succeed where success seemed out of question. More than that, He would assist them for the asking, and so they had recourse to fervent prayer. In order that their tearful petitions might be effective, these unselfish messengers of the Gospel enlisted the cooperation of God's most beloved friends: the Angels and Saints, and above all the Lord's own mother. Thus they concluded, and rightly so, as the result demonstrated, that failure could not be possible.

Accordingly, after choosing a spot in a well-inhabited district, the missionary would first set up an altar in a brushwood hut and dedicate the place to some saint upon whose intercession he relied in the effort to win the savages over to Christ and His Law. Such was the custom of all the Catholic missionaries from the Lakes down to Patagonia, and from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Unlike the irreligious adventurers of either Teuton or Anglo-Saxon extraction, and unlike the sectarian emissaries, the Catholic missionary, and even the worldly French or Spanish soldier of fortune, would raise his eyes from the surface of the earth heavenward for a name with which to distinguish a new discovery, or the founding of a mission and settlement. Hence it is that the

traveler all through Canada, along the southern boundary of the United States, and on the Pacific Coast from Alaska to Cape Horn, as well as in the heart of the United States, in New Mexico, finds rivers, mountains, lakes, cities, towns, islands, and capes reminding him by their names that those who first trod the soil there believed in God and aimed to be united with Him, in a word, were Catholics. Gracias a Dios, as the missionary would exclaim, whether he failed or succeeded.

MISSIONARY LABORS OF THE FRANCISCANS AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE EARLY DAYS

(Florida)

I

Florida, of all the States in the Union, enjoys the distinction of having received the first invitation to enter the fold of Christ. But for more than half a century its inhabitants refused to heed the call, or to recognize Him who extended the call, as their God and Saviour. Nor would the savage natives yield to the sweet yoke of Christianity till many a zealous messenger had shed his blood at their hands; In very truth, the history of Florida's conversion may be said to have been written in blood. Satan loathed to surrender what he claimed as his own; and, when at length he was compelled to relinquish his deadly hold, he in fury turned upon his former slaves, and had them massacred or tortured to death by thousands.

Before we proceed to describe the most important incidents in the toilsome efforts of the missionaries, it will be necessary to relate briefly the various attempts made by the Spaniards to conquer Florida, which in the early days included stretches of land far to the north of the present commonwealth, and extended as far west as the Mississippi.

Juan Ponce de Leon, governor of Puerto Rico, in 1511 found himself superseded, and thus thrown out of power and employment, by Diego Columbus, son of the great discoverer. From the natives of Cuba he had heard of an island of Bimini lying to the north of Hispaniola, as the present Haiti and Santo Domingo were then called. This island was said to possess, besides gold a spring of such wonderful virtue that all who drank of it were restored to youth and vigor. Also a river was reported to exist there having similar properties, as it renewed the youth of all who bathed in its waters. The story took such a firm hold on the Spaniards that for fifty years there was not a river, creek, lake or pond in all Florida in which the Spaniards would not bathe in the hope of at last discovering the fabled restorer.

Thirsting for the recovery of lost prestige, as well as for gold and fame, if not for the restoration of his youth and strength, Ponce de Leon determined to make himself master of Bimini. Accordingly he applied to Charles V for a permit to discover and colonize that wonderful island. Charles granted the petition at Burgos under date of February 23, 1512; he required, however, that Ponce equip the fleet at his own cost. Thereupon Ponce de Leon hastened to fit out three ships at his own expense. As an evidence of the thoroughly worldly character of the undertaking, we must note that there is no mention of either priests or religious going along as was customary.

to convert the natives or to attend the spiritual needs of the explorers. The Indians who might be found on the island were to be alloted as servants, practically as slaves, to the adventurers Not a word was said about religion. It is a matter of painful surprise that such a document should have been countersigned by no less a personage than the Bishop of Palencia. Ponce de Leon was not bent on an apostolic errand.

Fortified with his royal grant, Ponce on Tuesday March 3, 1513, set sail from the port of San German, Puerto Rico. Easter Sunday March 27, he descried what he thought was an island; still he continued in his course and did not land until Saturday April 2.

Impressed with the beauty of the flower-covered land, and having first sighted it on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, he named the land Florida. The Indians spoke of it as Cauaio, or, according to others, Canaio. The landing-place may have been at the mouth of St. John's river, or in the vicinity of the present city of St. Augustine.

Reembarking, Ponce sailed farther on, and on April 20 saw the first evidences of human life, a number of Indian huts. The natives by means of signs invited the Spaniards ashore, and then immediately attacked them, wounding two of the adventurers. Ponce retired to his ships. Wherever he attempted to land, he was greeted with darts from the bows of enraged Indians. On Monday June 14, Ponce

resolved to return to Puerto Rico. He had signally failed to conquer the island, to enslave the natives, or to secure gold and youthful vigor. As this expedition discovered Florida in 1513, the present year 1913 is the quadricentennial of that event. Presumably the inhabitants of the Peninsular State will solemnize the anniversary in a manner worthy of their commonwealth.

Once more, September 26, 1514, the king empowered Ponce to take possession of 'Bimini and the Island of Florida;' but this time the command was inserted in the patent that the Indians must be brought to the knowledge of the Catholic Faith.[1] Priests had therefore to be provided. In 1521, after much vexatious delay, Ponce embarked in two ships, with two hundred men and fifty horses. He took along a variety of domestic animals and agricultural implements. Some priests and religious accompanied the expedition; but their names have not been reported, nor is it known to which order the religious belonged. Misfortune came upon the undertaking from the beginning. Landing upon the Florida coast,--it is not known where--the Spaniards were furiously set upon by the Indians. Ponce bravely led his men against them, but he was badly wounded, and many of his followers were killed. Driven off again by the determined savages, Ponce finally took to his ships and sailed back to Cuba, where he died a few days later; his body was sent to Puerto Rico for burial. His expedition had accomplished nothing for Christianity or civilization.

Quite probably, the Indians had in some way heard of the treatment accorded the natives of Cuba and other islands by the Spaniards, and for this reason resisted the invasion so fiercely.

Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon next received a royal charter to colonise the land north of Ponce's grant. In the middle of July 1526, he sailed from Hispaniola with a fleet of six vessels and a tender. His company consisted of five hundred men and women, and a few negro slaves. He also took along eighty-nine horses and everything necessary for a colony. In Ayllon's company there were three Dominican friars, Fr. Antonio Montesino, who at Santo Domingo had courageously preached against the enslavement of the natives, Fr. Antonio de Cervantes, and Brother Pedro de Estrada. Ayllon landed at the mouth of a river in thirty-three degrees and forty minutes. While the Indians of that region did the Spaniards no harm, fevers and hardships carried off nearly three-fourths of the colonists. Ayllon himself succumbed October 18, 1526. The one hundred and fifty sickly and destitute survivors returned to Hispaniola. Of the labors of the missionaries we know nothing.

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1 Both patents issued to Ponce, entire, may be found in the Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Society, Philadelphia, December 1918 issue.

II

The history of the Seraphic Family on the mainland of the United States, like that of Christianity, begins with Florida. We make the distinction as to the mainland, because Puerto Rico, now a part of our dominion, saw the standard of Salvation raised in 1511, when twenty-three Franciscans arrived on the island to preach Christ Crucified. This was twelve years before Ponce de Leon sighted the peninsula on our eastern coast.

The failure of Ponce de Leon and of Ayllon, described in the preceding chapter, had not dampened the ardor of those hungry for gold, fame, and power. Panfilo de Narvaez, the unsuccessful rival of Hernando Cortes in Mexico, by royal permit in 1526 fitted out an expedition on a much larger scale in order to conquer Florida. Unaware that the naked and roving savages were not at all like the half-civilized and sedentary Aztecs and Tlascalans, he dreamed of making himself master of an empire which should surpass the one his enemy had subjugated.

Narvaez was determined that the enterprise should proceed in an orderly way and be a success from the beginning. So sure was he

of accomplishing his object, that he brought along a magistrate and a town council for the new colony. Even a bishop had been appointed by his majesty and directed to accompany the expedition, so there might be nothing amiss in either spiritual or secular matters. It is true, the person named for the exalted office had not as yet received episcopal consecration, nor had the Pope had time to approve the nominee. But that made no difference with the king, who by reason of the anomalous position of the Church under Spanish rule, was actually vicar-general to the Holy Father in his dominion, with authority to nominate for any ecclesiastical dignity whomsoever he pleased. Such a nominee might be sent to the diocese designated to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction forthwith, returning perhaps only after years to be consecrated. Such was the case with the first bishop of the City of Mexico, Fr. Juan de Zumarraga, O. F. M. He was named by Emperor Charles V, sent to his destination, exercised jurisdiction as bishop-elect under royal orders, and after six years returned to Spain to be consecrated. Happily those customs, which led to much abuse and worldliness, have ceased even in Spain.

The ecclesiastic, who as bishop-elect accompanied Narvaez, was the Franciscan Fr. Juan Suarez, or Xuarez. His title was Bishop of Florida and Rio de las Palmas (Panuco.) He was appointed by the emperor in 1527, at the same time with Bishop Zumarraga of

Mexico and Bishop Martin de Bejar of Darien. This we learn from the famous Irish Franciscan historian, Fr. Luke Wadding. He writes: "Carolus Imperator . . . nominavit pro episcopatu erigendo in urbe Mexicana Fr. Joannem de Zumarraga; pro episcopatu Sanctae Mariae Dariensis, Fr. Martinum de Bejar; pro episcopatu vastissimae Provinciae Floridae, Fr. Joannem Suarez."[1] Fr. Harold, O. F. M. of Limerick, in his Epitome Annalium Ordinis Minorum, published at Rome in 1662, when he was professor at the Irish Franciscan College of St. Isadore, says: "Other Franciscans were also sent to the peninsula of Yucatan . . . These religious were earnestly charged by the emperor to see that the laws of God and of the state were observed by the governors of the provinces, and they should not permit that the Indians be tyrannically treated, but that they should be brought to the worship of the true God and to the emperor in a humane and considerate manner. The same commission was given the Franciscan bishop-elect and the four friars who sailed with Panfilo de Narvaez, governor of the Province of Florida and the Rio de las Palmas."[2] Again he says: "Since the ministers of the Gospel gathered so very many sheep into the fold of Christ, lest these be destitute of shepherds, several friars were selected from the same family of Observants (Franciscans): for the bishopric to be established in the City of Mexico, Fr. Juan de Zumarraga; for the diocese of Darien, Fr. Martin de Bejar was destined; for the see of the province of Florida; Fr. Juan Suarez was designated.

These were likewise strictly charged to make peace among the quarreling governors, and to remedy the worst grievances of the Indians."[3]

The bishops mentioned here were not the first appointed to dioceses in the New World. Fr. Garcia de Padilla, O. F. M., was the first bishop named for the first see established at Santo Domingo. He was selected October 14, 1504, only twelve years after the discovery of America. The bull appointing Fr. Garcia de Padilla was issued by Pope Julius II, November 15, of that year[4] On the same date the Pope appointed Pedro Suarez de Deza, bishop of the Isle of San Juan (Puerto Rico), albeit the island had not yet been Christianized.[5] On the Feast of the Ascension, May 20, 1512, or perhaps on the Sunday previous, Fr. Garcia de Padilla was consecrated.[6] He had thus had to wait nearly seven years for his consecration. Nor did he ever reach his diocese, for he died in Spain a year or two later. The three dioceses named were regarded as suffragans to the archbishop of Sevilla.[7]

Fr. Juan Suarez, the bishop-elect of Florida, and Brother Juan de Palos, who accompanied him, were not strangers in America. They were members of the famous missionary band of twelve Franciscans, who under Fr. Martin of Valencia came to Mexico in 1524, and in the history of that country are known as the Twelve Apostles of Mexico. The year of their arrival was generally spoken of as the "year when the Faith came." In Mexico, Fr. Suarez had been

appointed guardian of the newly-established convent of Huexocingo at the foot of Popocatapetl, not far from Puebla. After two years of hard labor but brilliant success among the natives, he returned to Spain to enlist more missionaries, and to plead the cause of the oppressed Indians before the court of Charles V. While thus occupied in the mother country, he was chosen to head the little company of friars and secular priests who were to join Panfilo de Narvaez. His title as leader of the Franciscans was the usual one of commissary. Under this title Cabeza de Vaca, the historian of the expedition, always mentions Fr. Suarez. The names of the other three friars and of the secular priests who accompanied Narvaez, have not been recorded.

With about five hundred men in four vessels, Narvaez landed on the western coast of Florida, near Tampa Bay, or perhaps Appalachee Bay. This was on Holy Thursday, April 14, 1528. Two days later he took formal possession of the territory for the king of Spain. But Narvaez, his troops and colonists were soon disillusioned and sadly disappointed. Instead of great cities, which they had expected to subdue in emulation of Cortes, they encountered only small villages or hamlets composed of wretched hovels. Hoping to meet with better prospects away from the sunny coast, Narvaez led a body of his men on an expedition into the interior. Previously he had ordered three ships to search for Panuco. Now,

after cruising the coast and failing to discover the harbor, these vessels returned, only to find that their commander had journeyed inland. Search was made for him and his people for a whole year, and at last, despairing of success, the fleet sailed for New Spain.

With three hundred men, including Fr. Suarez, Brother Palos, three other friars, the officers, and forty mounted men, Narvaez had set out, Sunday May 1, 1528. Disaster followed on the heels of the expedition from the outset. Disease, starvation, and constant engagements with fierce Indians, soon reduced the force. To the bright visions of conquest and treasure for the soldiers, and of abundant converts for the missionaries, succeeded the one desire of escaping from the inhospitable shores. Narvaez and many of his men fell sick. In this plight the unfortunate adventurers at last reached one of the little harbors in Appalachee Bay, where it was determined to build boats in which to make their escape. There was but one carpenter in the whole company, and there were "neither tools, nor iron, nor forge, nor tow, nor resin, nor rigging, nor any man who had a knowledge of their manufacture; and above all, there was nothing to eat while building," as Cabeza de Vaca relates. But despair lent energy. A forge sprang up, the bellows being constructed of wooden pipes and deerskin. Everything that could furnish metal was utilized. It was no longer gold, but iron that was sought. Stirrups, spurs, cross bows, etc., were wrought into

nails, saws, axes, and other necessary tools. The fan-palm was used for covering, and its fibre served to oalk the boats; from its husk and from the tails and manes of the horses, ropes and rigging were made. Out of shirts, sails were formed. The remaining horses were flayed, the skins removed from their legs entire, tanned, and converted into bottles to carry water. The carcasses served for food during the building of the boats. By the time five boats were completed, only one horse remained. More than forty men had died of disease and hunger, and the Indians had killed many others.

At last, September 22, 1528, the two hundred and forty-two survivors embarked, having provisioned their boats with maize obtained from the Indians in a series of raids. In the first boat went Narvaez with forty-nine men; in the second, an officer, Fr. Suarez, and forty-nine men, including the four Franciscans; in the third, two officers with forty-eight men; in the fourth, two officers with forty-seven men; in the fifth, two officers, including Cabeza de Vaca, and forty-nine men. After the provisions and clothes had been taken in, the boats were so overloaded that the gunwales were not more than a span above the water, and the inmates were unable to move. Not a man of the entire company had any knowledge of navigation. Proceeding in sight of the shore, hunger and thirst forced them to land, supposedly at Pensacola Bay. Here, at an Indian village, they found fresh water and cooked fish

in abundance. Hostile Indians, however, caused Narvaez and his fellow sufferers to take to the sea again. They reached a great river, probably the Mississippi, the current of which separated the boats. To cut a long story short, all the inmates of the boats perished, save Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes, Alonso de Castillo, and an Arabian negro named Estevanico, the latter of whom played an important part in the discovery of New Mexico, ten or eleven years later. The four men were captured by the Indians, made to serve as slaves, escaped, and after dreadful sufferings endured in nine years of wandering through arid wastes of western Texas and Chihuahua, then through Sonora into Sinaloa, to their inexpressible joy they reached the post of Culiacan, May 1, 1536. Finally, Sunday July 24, 1536, the four survivors of the ill-fated expedition arrived at the City of Mexico, where they were kindly treated by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza. "For this we gave thanks to God, our Lord," Cabeza writes, as well he might, "inasmuch as we had before despaired of ever hearing more of Christians."

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1 Annales, tom. XVI, p. 247. 3 Ad an. 1527, no. 1527, no. 5. Other ancient authorities are, Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, Dec. 1. anno 1527; 1600; Herra, tom. II, Dec. IV, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 76. 4 Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, tomo XX, cuaderno VI, Junio 2892, pp. 587-588. 5 Boletin, ibid. p.593. 6 Boletin, ibid, p.600. 7 Boletin, tomo XX, cuad. III, p.266.

III.

INSATIABLE ambition and thirst for gold impelled another Spanish hidalgo to attempt the conquest of Florida. With the royal permit, Hernando De Soto set sail April 6, 1538, from San Lucar, Andalucia, Spain, with a fleet of seven large and three small ships equipped at his own expense. Besides six hundred soldiers, eight secular and four regular priests accompanied the leader. De Soto had also been appointed governor of Cuba, wherefore he stopped at the harbor of Santiago, took in more supplies and recruits, and then moved out, Sunday, May 18, 1539. The expedition sighted the western coast of the Florida peninsular on the feast of Pentecost, May 25, and landed at a bay which, for the feast of the day on which it was first discovered, De Soto named Bahia del Espiritu Santo. This bay very likely was Tampa Bay. On June 3, the commander took formal possession according to the prescribed form, which is too long to be reproduced here.

All along the coast the Indians fled at the approach of the ships. De Soto, therefore, encountered nothing but deserted villages. Two reconnoitering parties, after severe marches through bogs and swamps, returned in less than two weeks, reporting that they had found in the Indian an enemy so quick that neither arquebusier nor crossbowman could follow him with his aim; so expert with his bow that while the Spaniard delivered a single shot he could discharge his stone-tipped arrows two or three times with an exactness that rarely failed. The arrows would split the

joints of the Spanish armour, and pentrate as deeply as a cross bow shot.

One of the parties brought back Juan Ortiz, a Spaniard who had been captured during the Narvaez expedition of 1528 and had since been kept as a slave. He had almost forgotten his mother tongue during his twelve years of captivity. Characteristic of the desires of the adventurers, Ortiz was asked whether he had learned of any region where gold could be found. He knew of none, but said there was a country thirty leagues from the bay which produced plenty of corn. This was not what De Soto had come for; but the time soon arrived when he and his men would have been content with an abundance of that grain.

A third exploring party pretended to have heard of a province to the westward called Cale, where there was much gold. This encouraged the drooping spirits of his men, and to Cale, De Soto determined to direct his expedition. Before leaving the coast he sent his ships back to Cuba for provisions. With them went a certain Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, who had come to capture slaves for his mines, and, finding the bogs and swamps a poor country for such game, was now returned to Cuba greatly disappointed. Doubtless he expressed the feelings of most of the adventurers, when he exclaimed: "Hurri Harri, Hurri Higa, Hurra Coja, Hurri Harri! The devil take a country where the first and most frequent words are so vile and infamous."

Leaving in Florida a garrison of thirty horses and fifty footmen, and provisions for two years, De Soto on August 1, 1539, started out in search of Cale. When the expedition arrived there, (probably, as Lowery thinks, in the region of the Suwannee River), "the soldiers were content to beat the corn they had gathered, in mortars made of timber, while others sifted the meal through their shirts of mail." Gold was sought in vain.

It would lead us far beyond our purpose to note even the chief incidents in the wanderings of De Soto. Much edification could not be derived from the description. King Carlos had made it a condition that the commander should take along priests and religious, "for the instruction of the natives in our holy Catholic Faith, . . .with which matter we seriously charge you to comply for the service of God and of our own. Anything contrary to this we shall deem contrary to our service."

Secular priests and friars had therefore been enlisted; but the religious influence which they were permitted to exercise appears to have been slight. No mention is made of the celebration of Sundays or holydays, though, when the expedition rested in camp, holy Mass seems to have been offered up, until October, 1540, when a fire consumed all the paraphernalia for celebrating the holy Sacrifice. After that, only the Mass prayers were recited before a rude altar. Indeed, four of the secular priests succumbed, as much from grief probably as from corporal privations,

during the very first year. Their names have not been recorded. Only once does the clergy appear conspicuously in any scene. This was toward the end of the journey at an Indian village west of the Mississippi. The natives there begged the Spaniards to relieve them of a long drought. De Soto acknowledged that he and his people were only sinful creatures, but that they would pray to the almighty Creator for them. He, therefore, had a huge cross erected. The whole force, except a small guard, formed a procession, and, led by the surviving priests chanting litanies, moved towards the sign of Redemption. There all knelt, prayers were offered up, and then each one in turn kissed the cross. Thereupon the procession returned to the camp chanting the Te Deum.

Quite contrary to the king's instructions, De Soto put into practice a most unwise system of dealing with the Indians. By fair means or foul he would obtain possession of the local chief in order to secure the safety of himself and expedition. The Indian chief was then compelled to provide male and female servants and food for his troops. Attempts to rescue their chiefs on the part of the natives usually ended in bloody disaster for the poor Indians. Indian men and women were captured and held as slaves, "in chains, with iron collars around their necks." These were made to carry the baggage, grind the corn, and do other menial work. Sometimes it happened that, going for fuel

or corn with their captives, the Spanish guards were killed, and the captives ran away with their chains. Those who were caught in an attempt at flight, had to pay for the attempt in order to terrify the others. In the end De Soto had as many as five hundred of these unhappy slaves. We pass over the harrowing details, which, doubtless, became traditional among the Indians, and explains why they later on spared no one in their thirst for revenge. Naturally the work of the priests was thus frustrated from the beginning, and that, besides the terrible hardships on the road, must have brought on the death of three more priests before the expedition reached the Mississippi, or before the commander himself passed away. They were Rev. Dionisio de Parie, a native of France, Rev. Diego de Bamuelos, a native of Cordova, and Fr. Francisco de la Cocha, a native of Badajoz and member of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity.

The intrepid commander continued westward through marshes and thick forests, until on or about May 8, 1541, he came upon the Mitchi Sipi (Mitchi Sibi of the Chippewas) or Great River, as the Menominees style the stream which the English turned into the Mississippi. He thus became the discoverer of the greatest watercourse in North America, unless the honor be credited to Cabeza de Vaca, who must have crossed the river about ten years before. A month later three barges had been constructed, and by means of these De Soto ferried his much reduced army across the mighty

current. Thirst for gold and pride urged him onward, until he found his search for the elusive metal hopeless. Thereupon he returned to the Great River, ill and melancholy, and on May 31, 1542, passed away, only forty-two years of age. He was buried in the center of the stream he had discovered the year before. Luis de Moscoso, his favorite lieutenant, contrived to lead the remnant of the expedition down the river into Mexico, accompanied by indescribable sufferings which carried off the five priests who had survived De Soto. These were: Rev. Rodrigo de Galleros, a native of Sevilla, Rev. Francisco del Pozo, a native of Cordova, Fr. Juan de Torres, a Franciscan from Sevilla, and the Dominicans Fr. Juan Galleros of Sevilla, and Fr. Luis de Soto, a native of Villanueva and relative of the unfortunate leader.

NOTE: In the May issue of the Franciscan Herald there appeared two chronological errors: Line 8 should read 1511 instead of 1501; line eleven, two instead of twelve.

IV

When with the arrival of De Soto's ragged remnant under Luis de Moscoso the failure of the grand expedition became known in Mexico, the famous Dominican, Father Luis Cancer de Barbastro, resolved to achieve in another manner the conquest of Florida and the conversion of the fierce natives. Alone, unsupported by military attendants, armed only with the crucifix, this apostolic man had conciliated the wild tribes of Vera Paz, the Land of True Peace, and he thought that what had succeeded in Central America could not fail on the peninsula. Accordingly, he crossed over to Spain and, laying his plans before the king, asked permission to undertake the conversion of the Floridans. Charles V gave his consent quite heartily. "Four tyrants," he is said to have exclaimed, "have entered Florida, effecting no good, but causing much damage. Now I shall try the religious."

Unfortunately, the emperor as well as the zealous Fr. Cancer, overlooked a most important circumstance. If it was folly to expect to win the natives by sending among them adventurers who thirsted only for gold or fame, with permission to enslave the Indians and to kill those that resisted, it was highly imprudent to allow missionaries to expose themselves unprotected to the wrath of such outraged natives. Under such circumstances it could not be hoped that the revengeful savages would except the unarmed missionaries. In their present state of frenzy, the enraged Indians of the country from the ocean to the Mississippi held all white men alike in detestation, whatever their garb. No success, save through a miracle, could therefore be looked for from any such attempt as contemplated by Fr. Cancer. The friars

should have proceeded under some sort of military protection, though the soldiers must remain in the background and not venture forth until needed to protect the lives of the missionaries. It was well enough for the friars to seek martyrdom to prove their love for Christ, but as things were, they must become victims of savage fury, not because of their faith in Christ, but because they were white men,—members of the hated race that had butchered and enslaved the kith and kin of these Indians.

However, Fr. Luis Cancer was formally commissioned to undertake the pious task of winning the Floridans for God and for the king. He was accompanied by the Dominican Fathers Gregorio de Beteta, Diego de Tolosa, or Pennalosa, and Juan Garcia, and a donado or Tertiary brother named Fuentes. Without any military protection whatever, the heroic friars sailed from Vera Cruz in an unarmed ship commanded by Juan de Arana. Arana had been directed to avoid all ports where the Spaniards had previously landed and spread terror for the white men. His ignorance, or his wanton disobedience, contributed materially to the ultimate failure of the undertaking. At Havana a Floridan convert named Magdalena was secured as interpreter.

On the eve of Ascension Day, 1549, the west coast of the peninsula was touched in about 28 degrees latitude; but the vessel continued northward to 28 degrees and 30 minutes in search of a port, anchoring in shallow water about six leagues from land. Here Arana resolved to land, unfortunately for the friars; for they were in the neighborhood,

no agreeable remembrances to the natives. Pilot Prado with some sailors rowed Fathers Cancer and Diego, also Fuentes and the Indian woman, to a bay where some deserted huts were discovered. Father Diego, Fuentes and Magdalena landed and were soon surrounded by fifteen or twenty savages. Lastly, Fr. Cancer himself, gathering up his habit, sprang into the sea, the water being waist deep. "The Lord knows what haste I made" he writes, "lest they should slay the friar before hearing what we were about. Reaching the beach I fell upon my knees and prayed for grace and divine help. I ascended to the plain where I sighted the Indians; but before approaching them I repeated my actions on the beach. Then rising from my knees I began to draw from my sleeves some trifling gifts which Indians prized."

The savages appeared so friendly that Fr. Cancer permitted Fr. Diego, Fuentes, and Magdalena to remain ashore, and to seek the desired port by land, whilst he himself returned to the ship for more presents. On again approaching the place, Fr. Diego and Fuentes, as well as the woman and the Indians had disappeared. A sailor, who had been lured to the shore through curiosity, was suddenly set upon and likewise spirited away. Fr. Cancer waited in vain until sunset for the return of his companions, and the next day he landed once more with the same result. The following eight days were spent in the boat in search of the harbor of which the Indians had spoken, and eight days more passed by while the sailors endeavored to effect an entrance; but their hopes that Fr. Diego and Fuentes might have proceeded and awaited them anywhere in the vicinity of the harbor, proved futile.

On Corpus Christi Day Fathers Luis and Juan [illegible] and celebrated Holy Mass, and the next day Fathers Luis and Gregorio resumed the search. Just as they had given up hopes of ever hearing of their companions and were about to sail away, an Indian appeared carrying a staff, to the top of which was fastened a bunch of palm leaves. He was followed by another savage who called out in broken Spanish, "Friends, friends, good, good! Come here, come here; sword no, sword no! Fr. Luis Cancer answered them in their own language, "We are good men." They seemed to understand, for they shouted back the same words. Cautiously the two friars approached, and after receiving from the Indian the wand with the palms, they signified by signs that the three Spaniards and Magdalena should be returned. The savages agreed to this. On the following day the Fathers heard from Magdalena, whom the Indians had brought to the beach, that Fr. Diego and the two Spaniards were in the house of the cacique; that the whole region was aroused, thinking a fleet had arrived; and that she had told them that there were but four priests, who had come to preach of great matters. She also informed the two Fathers that about fifty or sixty savages had assembled in the place.

It is strange that Fr. Luis evinced no suspicion from the fact that Fr. Diego and Fuentes had not come along with Magdalena to reassure their anxious superior of their safety. Instead, full of expectations that their companions would be returned on the morrow, the three friars went back to the ship. There they were met with the most distressing reports. During their absence a Spaniard named Juan Munnoz,

one of De Soto's soldiers, who had been held captive had escaped and reached the ship in a canoe. He related that the Indians had already killed Fr. Diego and Fuentes but that the sailor was still alive. Consternation seized the poor friars. Nevertheless Fr. Luis Cancer declared he would go ashore, as agreed upon with the Indians, in order to obtain certainty about the fate of their companions. He spent all Monday, which happened to be the feast of St. John the Baptist, writing letters. Tuesday a storm frustrated an attempt at landing; but on Wednesday, June 26, in spite of the tempestuous weather, the friars were brought to the shore by dint of hard rowing. At the approach of the boat the Indians armed with bows, arrows, clubs, and darts gathered on a small elevation. Fr. Luis Cancer was not deterred by these signs of hostility, nor by the entreaties of Fr. Gregorio, who said, "No people in the world could be more enraged than they are. For the love of God wait a little; do not land." In answer he threw himself in the water and soon reached the land. As he drew nigh the hillock, he fell upon his knees. A few moments later he arose and approached the savages. One of them came forth and embraced him, and then seizing him by the arm urged him forward. Another savage followed him, and then others; who pushed the friar to the foot of the hill. One of them snatched his hat from his head, whereupon another struck him on the head with a club and knocked him down. "We were very near, so near that we saw and heard distinctly what occurred," Fr. Gregorio relates. "Then he cried out aloud, but they did not let him finish, and so many rushed upon him that they made an end of him there." The savages next attacked the boat with a shower of arrows, but the crew managed to escape and regained the ship unharmed.

Seeing that all was lost, the ship with the two surviving friars, Gregorio de Deteta and Juan Garcia, set sail on June 23 and after some beating about, reached the port of San Juan de Ulua off Vera Cruz, July 19, 1549.

Fr. Gregorio de Deteta later made another effort to establish a mission in Florida. For that purpose he renounced the Bishopric of Cartagena, and in 1561 accompanied Angel de Villafane, who sailed to the relief of Tristan de Luna's abortive settlement; but he was again doomed to disappointment: for Villafane returned from Florida, having accomplished nothing beyond exploration of the eastern coast. Fr. Gregorio died at the ripe old age of ninety-one years.

As to Fr. Luis Cancer, Davila Padilla writes: "A martyr he is counted in the History of Fr. Juan de la Cruz; a martyr he is counted in the Triumph of martyrs, arranged by Fr. Thomas Castellar, and printed in Rome with the approval and the commendation of that holy city; a martyr he is held by the holy Bishop Chiapes, Fr. Bartolome de las Casas, who loudly calls him Holy Fray Luis and Blessed Fray Luis."

V

"Inasmuch as it pertains to our duty as pastor, and to the apostolic office which we occupy, to endeavor in every manner and by all means within our power to spread the Faith of Christ, our Redeemer, so that all nations may come to the knowledge of God and save their souls, we beseech Your Majesty to be pleased to provide and command by means that seem just, that Florida and its inhabitants may come to the knowledge of their Creator; for that country is close by, and we know that its countless people will perish, not having any one who might preach the Gospel to them." Such was the petition which the Rt. Rev. Juan de Urango, Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, in 1555, addressed to the King of Spain in order to convince him of the necessity of planting colonies on that peninsula.

Phil ip II, who had succeeded Charles V in 1557, approved of the proposition, especially, as it became imperative from a political point of view to subjugate the territory bordering on the Gulf of Mexico. The king confided the execution of the project to Viceroy Luis de Velasco of New Spain, as Mexico was then called, who in turn appointed Don Tristan de Luna governor of Florida and commander of the expedition to be sent out for its conquest. Tristan's force, consisting of about 1500 soldiers and prospective settlers, besides Indian aids, embarked at Vera Cruz on June 11, 1559, in thirteen ships. Before setting sail

Don Tristan and his men listened to a fervent address of the viceroy, who reminded all that they were engaged in a glorious enterprise for God and the king, and that therefore they should treat the natives with gentleness.

The ecclesiastics who went along were the Dominicans Fr. Pedro de Feria, as Superior, Fr. Domingo de la Annunciacion, Fr. Domingo de Salazar, Fr. Juan Mazuelas, Fr. Domingo de Santo Domingo, and Fr. Bartolome Matheos, apparently a lay-brother.

The fleet crossed the gulf and reached Pensacola Bay. Unfortunately, Don Tristan proved unfit for such an undertaking, and therefore failed to employ the means which might have resulted in success. The consequence was dissensions and failure. Angel de Villafane was sent by the viceroy to take Tristan's place, and with him came Fr. Gregorio de Beteta and Fr. Juan de Contreras, Dominicans; but at a general council it was resolved to abandon the country which appeared utterly unsuited for colonization.

Pedro Menendez de Aviles, a famous naval commander, whose son had perished in a shipwreck on the Florida coast, was next authorized by King Philip II to establish a colony on the peninsula, but at his own expense. While fitting out the expedition in Andalusia, the news reached Spain that French Huguenots

or Calvinists had planted a settlement in Florida. Philip gave Menendez orders to drive them away, and converted the private expedition into one of national import by contributing one ship and two hundred and ninety-nine soldiers at the cost of the royal treasury. The whole fleet consisted of 2646 persons in twenty ships. The commander himself had expended as much as 1,000,000 ducats in less than fourteen months. He sailed from Cadiz on June 29, 1565. The expedition before reaching the open sea counted among its members five seculars, one Friar of the Order of our Lady of Ransom, eight Jesuits, and twelve Franciscans. A great storm soon scattered the vessels, so that Menendez when he reached Porto Rico could muster only one-third of his force of men and ships.

On the island the commander learned that a French expedition under Jean Ribaut had preceded him and captured a Spanish vessel. He decided therefore not to await the arrival of the other ships, but to attack the French settlement without delay. Accordingly, he reached the eastern coast of Florida on August 28, 1565, the feast of St. Augustine. Some of the Spaniards were landed and went to work to fortify a large Indian structure which a friendly Indian chief had ceded for that purpose. On Friday, September 7, Menendez sent his three smaller ships into the harbor, and three hundred more colonists went ashore, together with the married men, their wives and their children. On the following day, (the feast of the

Nativity of our Lady,, the rest of the colonists, one hundred in number, and supplies were put ashore, after which the commander himself landed amidst the waving of flags, the sounding of trumpets, and the salutes of the artillery. The chaplain, Rev. Francisco de Mendoza, who had landed the previous day, advanced in procession with the soldiers carrying the cross and chanting the Te Deum. Menendez on bended knee kissed the cross, as did all who followed him. High Mass was offered up in honor of the Blessed Virgin on a spot which thereafter was known as Nombre de Dios, because there the Holy Name of God was first solemnly invoked. The commander then took formal possession of the country in the name of the king. This was the beginning of St. Augustine, without doubt the oldest city or white settlement in the United States.

The Spanish commander next proceeded to carry out the royal order regarding the French fort, which had been erected by French Huguenots on territory claimed by Spain, about five leagues north of St. Augustine. After incredible hardships, suffered in pushing onward through swamps and unceasing rain, Menendez surprised the unsuspecting Frenchmen at daybreak of September 21, and put all to the sword, sparing only the women and children and the males under fifteen years of age. Next day holy Mass was celebrated in thanksgiving in the fort, which the commander

on account of the feast on the day of victory christened San Mateo. Leaving a strong garrison there, Menendez made his way back through the swamps to St. Augustine. Soon after he also captured the shipwrecked French general, Jean Ribaut, with all his sailors and soldiers and, although they had surrendered, put them to death, save those who confessed themselves Catholics. Menendez justified this wholesale slaughter by the statement that he would have had nothing to eat for them, and that even so the prisoners who were more numerous than his own men menaced the lives of the Spaniards. Moreover, the captured men deserved no mercy because they were pirates. Two years later the French under Dominique Gorgues retaliated, when they in like manner and out of revenge massacred the entire garrison of Fort San Mateo.

As no religious had come along to Florida, no effort was made to reach the Indians. For the present the two or three secular priests were obliged to confine themselves to the spiritual needs of the settlers and soldiers at St. Augustine and San Mateo. Although no Indian mission was established at this time, Menendez effected what no other Spanish official before him succeeded in bringing about, he secured a firm foothold for Spanish missionary activity, which, please God, will be described in subsequent issues of the Franciscan Herald.

When Pedro de Menendez thought he had firmly established the Spanish colony at St. Augustine, he urged his sovereign to provide worthy missionaries for the conversion of the natives. King Philip II on May 3, 1566, appeared to St. Francis Borgia, third General of the Society of Jesus, who selected Fathers Pedro Martinez and Juan Rogel, and the Lay-brother Francisco de Villareal for the honorable but onerous task. We would fain dwell at length upon the zealous activity of these first Jesuits in North America, but, owing to the fact that we are only presenting sketches, not a complete history, we must regretfully confine ourselves to stating names, places, and dates together with such explanations as are deemed necessary.

The three pioneers of the Order established only thirty-two years before, embarked in a Flemish vessel at San Lucar de Barrameda on July 28, 1566. Ignorance of the pilot and high winds carried the ship far beyond its destination. Fr. Martinez, accompanied by nine Flemings and one Spaniard, went ashore to ascertain from the natives the whereabouts of the Spanish settlement. In the meantime a storm drove the ship out into the sea whence it was forced to take refuge on Cuba Isle. Fr. Martinez and three Flemings were killed by hostile Indians near the mouth of St. John's River on September 28, and thus he became the first Jesuit martyr in North America. The rest of the men escaped to St. Augustine.

In the following year, Fr. Rogel and Brother Villareal accompanied Menendez from Havana to the southern end of the peninsula. Whilst the

brother established himself among the Indians at Tegesta, now Biscayne Bay, on the southeastern shore, probably near the modern Miami. Fr. Rogel went around to the western shore and took up his headquarters at San Carlos, later called San Antonio, now Charlotte Harbor, where Menendez had a chapel built for him.

At the request of Menendez the Father General, St. Francis Borgia, sent a strong band of missionaries who were to make concerted efforts for winning the stolid Indians. These religious were Father Juan Bautista de Segura, as vice-provincial, Fathers Gonzalo de Alano, Antonio Sedeno, and Juan de la Carrera, with the Lay Brothers Pedro Linares, Domingo Augustin or Vaez, Pedro Ruiz, de Salvatierra, Juan Salcedo, Juan Bautista Mendez, Gabriel Solis, and Cristobal Redondo. The brothers were probably intended to act as catechists, which would account for their large number. These thirteen Jesuits landed at St. Augustine on June 29, 1568.

The missionaries found the soldiers half-naked and the colonists exhausted from hunger. At Tegesta the soldiers lived in the greatest extremity. Tocobaga, a mission station at Tampa probably, was deserted, for the Indians had killed all the soldiers. Only San Antonio and St. Augustine with the fort of San Felipe at Santa Helena remained. Fr. Segura distributed his forces, and then proceeded to Havana in order to establish a college. In 1569, however, he himself went to Tegesta, only to discover that it was useless to continue missionary efforts there and on the west coast. These stations were therefore abandoned

soon after, as well as those up the east coast, as conditions there were no better.

Father Regel had correctly judged the situation when he wrote: "In order to obtain fruit in the blind and sad souls of these provinces, it is necessary first of all to command the Indians to come together and to live in towns and cultivate the soil, and collect sustenance for the entire year. After they have thus become very settled, then preaching should begin. Unless this is done, although the religious remain among them for fifty years, they will have no more fruit than we in our four years among them, which is none at all, nor even a hope, nor the semblance of it. Even then it would be a most severe task of many years; for it must be done rightly, as our Lord commands, neither by compelling them nor by mailed hand, and this for two reasons: the first is, that they have been accustomed to live in this manner for thousands of years. To take them out of it is like death to them. The second is, that even were they willing, the poverty of the soil and its rapid exhaustion will not admit of it; and so it is that they themselves give this reason for scattering and changing their boundaries, that is to say, for wandering from nine to ten months from place to place in search of food like wild beasts.

It was now determined to start new missions in the country about Chesapeake Bay, away from Spanish military and colonies. This resolution was reached through the representations of a Christianized Indian Chief who from that region had accompanied the Dominicans to

Spain. In November, 1570, he had returned with Menendez and the Jesuits, Father Luis de Quiros and brothers Gabriel Gomez and Sancho de Zevallos. The Indian called Don Luis de Velasco, was naturally regarded a great help as well as a strong protection in the new venture by reason of his rank among his people and his ability to act as interpreter. Fr. Segura, the vice-provincial, relying on Velasco's promise of protection, resolved to go and found the mission in person. He selected as companions Father Luis de Quiros and Brothers Gabriel Solis, Juan B. Mendez, Cristobal Redondo, Pedro Linares, Gabriel Gomez, and Sancho Zevallos.

These religious with Velasco and a small boy named Alonso, who had been trained to serve at Holy Mass, sailed from Santa Helena, August 5, 1570. The ship finally entered Chesapeake Bay and on September 10 reached its destination, the Indian province of Axacan. Here in a very different condition. ere the vessel left the little company. "We found the country of Don Luis in a very different condition from what we had anticipated." Fr. Quiros wrote in the letter which the captain of the ship brought along, "not because he misrepresented in his account of it, but because our Lord has chastised it with six years of sterility and death, which has left it thinly inhabited compared to what it used to be, many of the people having died and others having removed to other lands to appease their hunger." Under such circumstances, no success could be expected for on the voyage the vessel had been so poorly supplied that the crew consumed two of the four barrels of the ship's biscuits intended to tide the missionaries over Winter. The

poor Fathers, therefore, possessed naught wherewith to attract the Indians or to relieve their distress.

The difficulties might have been overcome with time if Velasco had remained faithful; but wild Indian nature asserted itself so that he turned renegade. With a party of savages he fell upon the missionaries in February 1571, and killed them all. Only the little boy Alonso escaped through the intervention of Velasco's brother, and was later on rescued by Melendez. On learning the death of Father Segura and his companions and the apparent hopelessness of converting the savages under the existing circumstances, St. Francis Borgia recalled the surviving members of the Society, and directed them to proceed to Mexico where they established a flourishing province. The Spanish colonies at and near St. Augustine themselves were on the brink of ruin, in spite of all exertions on the part of Melendez. The few white people were reported as losing their faith, as for a considerable time no priest lived there to celebrate holy Mass or administer the Sacraments, but the territory was too important for Spanish commerce, and the souls of the Indians were too precious for Religion to allow them to be abandoned.

VII

"The Indian Missions, which the sons of St. Dominic and St. Ignatius had failed to render successful," writes Gilmary Shea, "devolved at last on the sons of St. Francis of Assisi." After the withdrawal of the Jesuits, Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the conqueror of Florida, made every effort to procure other missionaries in their place, with the result that on February 23, 1573, a royal decree directed the Commissary-General of the Franciscans in Spain to send six friars to Florida. Instead of six, Pedro Menendez Marquez, the nephew of the founder of St. Augustine, reported nine religious there before the end of the year. Unfortunately, the names as well as the details are lost. The probable reason will appear presently.

Four years later, 1577, Fr. Alonso de Reynoso arrived with a number of Franciscans, and began work among the Indians at Nombre de Dios, where, on September 8, 1565, the first holy Mass had been offered up. That is all the information extant about these religious. In fact, the years down to 1593 are a total blank. The friars were on the spot, so much is evident; but all documents referring to their activity or to the white parish of St. Augustine are wanting. Possibly duplicates may exist in the archives of Sevilla, and they may be discovered some day.

The lack of historical material regarding that period may however be accounted for. On September 12, 1585, the great English freebooter, Sir Francis Drake, with the sanction of Queen Elizabeth, sailed out of Plymouth harbor with twenty-five armed ships and 2300

men and swooped down upon the West Indies. After laying the people under contribution, destroying property, and terrifying the inhabitants, Drake crossed over to Cape Florida and thence, May 28, sailed up the coast to St. Augustine. The garrison of San Juan de Pinos, a fort constructed of rude logs and earth, hastily retreated to the town. The one hundred and fifty men fled in such haste that they forgot to remove the paymaster's funds, and thus a chest containing ten thousand dollars in silver fell into the hands of the English buccaneer. On hearing of his approach the soldiers and the inhabitants of the town fled to the country and left their homes to the mercy of the invader. Drake sacked the town and then set it on fire. It is quite probable that the authorities, like the soldiers, in their precipitous flight neglected to save the records, and thus it is that no documents are extant to tell us anything of the period extending from 1573 to 1592.

Nevertheless, St. Augustine, Florida, can boast of possessing the oldest parish registers in all North America outside of Mexico. They begin with the year 1594, thus antedating the founding of the first English colony, Jamestown, Virginia, by thirteen years, and the arrival of the Puritans at Plymouth Rock, Mass., by twenty-six years. The city itself, as will be remembered, was founded in 1565.

These church registers consist of sixteen folio volumes, all, except a few, bound in soft, flexible leather after the manner customary throughout Spanish America. The entries continue down to the year 1763, when Spain ceded Florida to England in order to retain Cuba. On

withdrawing, the Spanish ecclesiastics took the old manuscript volumes to Havana. There they remained until 1908, when the Rt. Rev. William John Kenny, D. D., Bishop of St. Augustine, repaired to Havana, and finally succeeded in recovering the priceless treasures for his archives. Unfortunately, the books had received little care during the century and a half at Havana. Some of the volumes are very much worm eaten, so much so that numerous entries, particularly in the death records, cannot be deciphered. By dint of patient comparison of baptismal, marriage and death registers, however, the names of all the secular priests in charge, as well as of the Franciscans, who frequently acted as curates or assistants, can be very well ascertained. Some of the first entries, indeed, look as fresh and black as though they had been made but yesterday, instead of having seen three centuries roll by.

Bishop Kenny has endeavored to secure from the grand archives of Seville, Spain, all the historical documents pertaining to his episcopal see, and succeeded in collecting much that had escaped historians heretofore. St. Augustine is a poor diocese, as regards revenues. Under such circumstances, to expend above one thousand dollars in order to obtain copies of early documents, proves a devotion to the cause of history which deserves to be put on record. It is with pleasure we recall the hospitality of good Bishop Kenny while at St. Augustine during March 1909; and with his gracious permission, we took notes from the rich historical material in his collection. We are also deeply grateful to Vicar-General Henry F. Clavreul, and to Rt. Rev.

Maurice F. Foley, D. D., now Bishop of Tuguegaro, Philippine Islands, but at that time pastor of the cathedral, St. Augustine.

The earliest entry in the parish records of St. Augustine is dated February 2, 1594. It notes the marriage of Gabriel Ser . . . dos (the name is abbreviated, the middle syllable or syllables being omitted), soldier of the fort, and Catalina de Valdes, contracted before the Rev. Diego Escobar de Sambrana, Curate and Vicar Forane to the Bishop of Cuba.

The first entry in the baptismal register reads as follows: "En 25 dias del mes de Junio de mil y quinientis noventa y cuatro anos, Yo Diego Escobar de Sambrana, cura y vicario desta provincia de la Florida, ciudad y fuerte de S. Agustin, por el Maestro Don Francisco Dias de Salzedo, Obispo, de Cuba, y por cercanias de estas provincias, baptizo, puse oleo y crisma a Maria, hija legitima de S. Ximenes de la Cueva y Maria Melendez, su mujer. Fueron padrinos, Adrian de Carizales y Maria Ruiz. En fe de lo qual lo firmo, Diego Escobar de Sambrana, Vicario."

The second entry in the baptismal record will interest the children of St. Francis somewhat more. It is dated July 6, 1594, and is signed by "Fray Francisco de Maron, Cura Vicario." This Fr. Maron was the guardian or superior of the convent of St. Francis at St. Augustine. Apparently he was at that date and subsequently in charge of the white parish, owing perhaps to the absence or illness of the cura proprietario, or pastor. Fr. Maron wrote all the entries,

twenty-four in all, until June 10, 1597. After these preliminaries we may proceed to relate the work of the Franciscans as Indian missionaries in Florida.

In 1592 an appeal was made to Fr. Bernardino de San Cebrian, O. F. M., Commissary-General of the Indies, for additional preachers of the Gospel, because the few friars stationed in or near St. Augustine could make no headway with the savages on the coast, nor reach those in the interior. It must be observed that in the Spanish dominions no priest or religious could be sent to America without the permit of the king, advised by the board called the Council of the Indies. The need was often imperative, as in Florida, but the hands of the Superiors were tied under the singular "union" of Church and State, as understood by the Spanish sovereigns and officials, who regarded the Church as subordinate to their political plans. The conditions are at present somewhat modified, but the "union" is scarcely advantageous to the Church, and certainly reflects not the beautiful idea between Church and State which prevailed during the ages of faith. This must be borne in mind in order to comprehand why, during the missionary period under Spanish rule, it was the king, and always the king, who was asked, and who sent the missionaries, not the Pope nor the Superior-General, as should have been the case according to the Rule of St. Francis. The Lord save us from a "union" that subordinates religion to doubtful politics and scheming politicians.

The Council of the Indies at length agreed that more missionaries should be despatched, and so the royal pase or permit was graciously affixed to the request for twelve friars of the Franciscan Order. The religious selected for the arduous task of transforming the hostile savages into peaceful Christians, were Fr. Juan de Silva, as

Commissary or Superior, Fathers Miguel de Aunon, Pedro de Aunon, Pedro Fernandez de Chozas, Blas and Rodriguez de Montes, Francisco Pareja, Pedro de San Gregorio, Francisco de Velascola, Francisco de Avila, Francisco Bonilla, and Pedro Ruiz, besides Brother Pedro Viniegra, who later also became a priest. These friars reached Havana in 1593, and were hospitably entertained at the Franciscan monastery until an opportunity arrived to transfer them to the land of their zealous aspirations. They eventually crossed over to St. Augustine, and presented themselves to Fr. Francisco Marron, who by the historian Barcia is styled Custos. This would indicate that, even at this early date, Florida and Cuba constituted a custody or smaller province of the Order.

Fr. Marron stationed the Fathers Pedro de Corpa, a veteran missionary, Miguel de Aunon, Francisco de Velascola, and Blas Rodriguez with Brother Antonio de Badajos on the Island of Guale, known at present as Amelia Island, where the savages were so fierce and bold that the soldiers of the forts dared not venture outside the palisades either to hunt or to fish. The missionaries, however, by means of gifts, kind words, and good example, at last succeeded in gaining the confidence of the suspicious Indians, so that, in time, the soldiers were able to go abroad with comparative security. The other friars were stationed in various parts of the peninsula, and for two years labored zealously to wean the natives from their heathen practices in order to prepare them for the reception of the Gospel. Besides the animosity of the so-called medicine men, one of the worst obstacles

encountered was polygamy. This even brought on the destruction of a number of missionary stations and the death of several Fathers, as we shall learn presently. Fr. Pedro Chozas, fearless of danger, ventured alone as far as one hundred and fifty miles inland from the coast. Unfortunately, the good Father took care that nothing of his terrible sufferings and privations should be put on record. We shall have to wait for the Day of Judgment to disclose his successes and failures and sufferings, as we shall have to wait till then for a true narrative of the heroic efforts of many other unselfish missionaries among savage peoples.

For two years the friars had labored with much success; the converts included even the son of a powerful chief; then the storm broke loose, as is usually the case under such circumstances. Extraordinary success in the conversion of savages is sure to rouse the fury of Satan and of his whole infernal brood. Nay, every step forward has frequently to be dearly paid for by the messengers of Christ. Such is the history of the Indian missions from Florida to California, and from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. Nothing lasting is effected, save at heavy personal loss to the missionary; but nowhere, probably, was the price paid for souls so high as in the missions of Florida.

With the Indian the spirit generally is willing enough, but the flesh is exceedingly weak. Habits of years reassert themselves, even after baptism, when an occasion presents itself in some alluring form. Such was the case with the chief's son mentioned above. After a time,

he returned to his former licentious mode of life, and, because of his position, he naturally led others to do the same. Remonstrances and entreaties proved unavailing. At length, Fr. Copa, the missionary in charge, thought it necessary to reprove him sternly,--not publicly, as Shea erroneously remarks,--but forcibly, for living like a pagan, although he was a Christian. Stung to the quick, the enraged youth left the Christian settlement, and went over to the savages, who received him gladly. Having exposed to them his grievances, he was encouraged by them to revenge himself. A band of warriors was soon organized. One night, towards the end of September 1597, the savage band, armed with tomahawks, bows and arrows and led by the young chief, silently surrounded the hut of Fr. Copa. Breaking in the frail door, they found him on his knees in prayer and ruthlessly despatched him with a hatchet. Fr. Copa thus became the first Franciscon martyr of Florida after its conquest by Melendez.

The atrocious crime soon became known to the Christian villagers. Some showed signs of genuine grief; the majority, however, were won over by a harangue of the young murderer. Barcia gives the harangue; he doubtless found it in the report of the Fathers, as it was probably related to them by a repentant Indian. "The Padre is now dead;" spoke the wily ingrate, "he would not be dead, if he had let us live as we lived before we were made Christians. Let us return to the ancient customs, and let us prepare to defend ourselves against the punishment which the governor will try to inflict on us. If he succeeds, it will be just as rigorous for the death of this one padre as if we had killed

all the padres.' This reasoning seemed evident to all the Indians, for they applauded vigorously. Seeing that he had made the desired impression, the young miscreant continued, 'Well, if there will be no more punishment for killing them all than for killing one, let us regain our freedom, of which these padres have deprived us with promises of benefits which we have not seen, but in the hope of which they wish us to give up our enjoyments. They have taken away our wives, and leave us only one, and forbid us to exchange her for another. They prohibit our dances, feasts, celebrations, games, and wars, so that by not engaging in them we may lose the ancient valor and cunning which we inherited from our fathers. They persecute our old men (i. e. wizards or medicine men) and give them bad names. Our very work is displeasing to them, since they will not have us labor on some days. All they know is to scold and preach and oppress and abuse us and deprive us of the happiness we formerly enjoyed, and for all this they promise us heaven as a reward. It is all an imposition, and all we can expect is to be slaves. If now we kill every one, we throw off the yoke at once, and the governor will be impressed with our bravery, and will treat us gently for fear he may also be overcome.' All agreed to these sentiments, and resolved to complete the ghastly work. They cut off the head of the murdered Fr. Lopez, placed it on a pole, which they planted at the gate as a sign of victory. The body was thrown into the woods, and was never recovered.

The murderers now passed on to Topoqui, where a remarkable scene ensued, which is probably unique in the history of the Indian missions.

It was early in the morning, and, as it appears, the Father was preparing to celebrate Holy Mass, when the murderous band arrived. Without further ado they told him that they had come to take his life. The poor missionary seeing no escape, tried to dissuade them by showing them the enormity of such a crime, and the evil consequences it might entail for them. Unmoved, however, they declared that he must die. Then Fr. Elas Rodriguez, for it was he, asked them to let him celebrate Holy Mass once more. After that they might do what they wished, and then bury his body in the chapel. To this, strange to say, the Indians assented. Fr. Rodriguez offered up his last holy Sacrifice, whilst the savages squatting or standing about awaited the end. When he had finished, the holy priest knelt before the alter. There the Indians beat him to death and then buried him where he had fallen. So says Torquemada. Garcia, however, tells us that the murderers threw the corpse out into the field, in order that vultures and wild animals might feast on it; but that none of them would touch the body of the martyr, save a dog, and he fell dead when he ventured to eat of the martyr's flesh. An old Christian Indian later removed the body, and gave it burial in the woods.

IX

From Tupuqui the murderous band of apostates and savages hastened to the village of Asopo, probably on Ossibaw Island, where Fr. Miguel de Aunon with Brother Antonio Badajoz labored with great zeal and much success for the conversion of the natives. The two friars had been warned, but, finding their escape cut off, Fr. Miguel for the last time celebrated the holy Sacrifice, and gave holy Communion to his companion. Then both calmly prepared themselves for their martyrdom. The savage soon appeared, broke into the little chapel, killed the brother with a war club, and then despatched Fr. Miguel in the same way. Whilst the wretches hurried on to Asao, on St. Simon's Island apparently, the distressed Christian Indians reverently interred the bodies of the two heroes at the foot of the great cross which Fr. Miguel had erected in the open space near the chapel. Eight years later, succeeding Franciscans exhumed the remains, and transported them to St. Augustine, where they were deposited in a suitable burial place.

When the savage mob reached Asao, they discovered that Fr. Francisco de Velascola had gone on a visit to St. Augustine, but that his return was daily expected. Though he was a very mild and humble religious, all the Indians feared him on account of his great bodily strength. Fearing that their bloody work would prove unavailing if this particular priest continued alive among the natives, the bloodthirsty horde resolved to await him near the place where he should have to land. When the unsuspecting Fr. Francisco returned, and stepped

from his canoe, the traitors welcomed him in the most friendly manner, and then without warning beat him insensible with clubs, whereupon they completed their dastardly work with tomahawks.

Next it was determined to do away with Fr. Francisco de Avila at Ospo, presumably between St. Simon's and the Cumberland Islands. On hearing the noise of the approaching savages, Fr. Francisco fled through a postern, hoping to elude the observation of the murderers in a cane brake, under cover of the night, which had set in. Unfortunately, the rising moon betrayed his whereabouts. Wounded in the shoulders by three arrows, he fell into the hands of the savages, who resolved to put him to death; but one of the Indians, who had taken a fancy to the friar's habit, remonstrated. Fr. Francisco was then stripped and taken to a heathen village to serve as a slave. Not being able, by reason of his wounds and consequent weakness, to labor to the satisfaction of his masters, the captive was frequently maltreated. At intervals, he was driven wholly naked through the Indian Village and beaten with sticks. At other times, he was tied to a stake or tree in order to serve as a target for the boys practising with their bows and arrows. The wounds received were not mortal, but they added considerably to his sufferings, which the holy man endured with remarkable cheerfulness. Generally, he was compelled to carry water and firewood, or to guard the cultivated patches, but he received little or no food. Sometimes he had to satisfy his hunger with leaves and tendrils. Meanwhile, the Spaniards at St. Augustine

learned that, instead of being dead, he was held a prisoner. Lieutenant Exiga was accordingly despatched to Tolomato for the purpose of bringing the Father back; but the chief refused to deliver him. Finally, the officer threatened to overrun the whole country with soldiers and destroy the crops. Reluctantly, the chief then agreed to set the captive free in exchange for some youths whom the Spaniards had captured. Good Fr. Francisco, however, had been so changed by his privations and brutal treatment that his brethren hardly recognized him. He was hailed as one who had risen from the dead.

The murderers, in the meantime, suffered the punishment they deserved. After destroying Fr. Francisco's chapel at Osco, the hostile party, armed with bows, and arrows, and war clubs, and led by the young brute, proceeded in forty canoes to the Isle of San Pedro, Cumberland Island, it is believed, in order to massacre the missionaries and the Indian chief, who was not friendly to the murderous youth. Fortunately, a Spanish vessel happened to lay at anchor near the port where the savages would have to land. This circumstance gave courage to the chief of the island. At the head of his warriors, also in canoes, he attacked the rebels, and routed them so completely that but few escaped.

Governor-General Gonzalo Menendez Canso saw that it would be necessary to teach the savages a lesson, lest they repeat the outrages on the Christian missions. Seven of the survivors of the slaughter at Ospo were captured, and among them the ringleader Lucas. Fr.

Francisco de Avila was called to testify; but, despite the inhuman treatment suffered at the hands of the savages, he nobly refused to say aught against them, as the following extract from the court proceedings shows:

"Fray Francisco de Avila said: Although it was true that Fr. Marron had granted permission to speak, he could not make use of it in a case so grave as the present one. He was forbidden by the sacred canons of the priesthood to testify under such circumstances, because it would force him to say that which might condemn someone and so he did not wish to speak or testify in this case in order not to fall into any error. Besides, he was aware that, at the time of his ransom, the governor had brought seven Indians from the peninsula to this city, and from them he could learn and gather all that they might have to relate. This he said; and I sign it in his name. Fray Francisco de Avila. In my presence--Juan Ximenes, Notary Public."

All the prisoners were closely questioned, when it became evident that Lucas, the son of the chief of Tupuqui, was the moving spirit of the revolt and murders. Accordingly, the governor directed as follows: "In view of said declarations of these proceedings, the crime falls upon Lucas, the Indian, son of the Cacique de Tupuqui, for having been present and for having participated in the killing of Fray Blas, who was sent to convert the people of Tupuqui. By this decree I must condemn him, sentenced according to his own admission, to suffer the penalty of death. The justice which I order shall be done him, is:

That when he leaves the jail where he now is, it shall be with a rope around his neck, his hands tied behind him, and with a loud voice his crime must be proclaimed to the public; that he shall be taken to the gallows, already prepared for this purpose, and that there he shall be hung by the neck and strangled until dead; for thus it is well to punish with real justice those who dare to commit such crimes, and as an example to the other Indian natives of these provinces that they may not commit similar crimes. So do I pronounce sentence and command. If said Lucas is not mindful of receiving Baptism, and should die not repenting in the Catholic Faith, I order that he be hung, and after his death his body be burned to ashes.--Regarding the other six Indians, detained for this cause, proceedings will not continue for the present against them, because they are boys under age. We shall so send and notify the Indian Lucas. Gonzalo Menendez Canso."

"To Alonso Diaz de Badajoz, Sergeant-Major of the Fort and Garrison of St. Augustine.--I order you by this sentence, which will be shown you by Juan Ximenes, Notary Public, against the Indian Lucas, prisoner in this city, that he shall be executed as is stated in this sentence, because it so pleaseth his Majesty. This execution is carried out in justice to his Majesty, and must be so accomplished. Gonzalo Menendez Canso. St. Augustine, July 29, 1598.--Before me, Juan Ximenes."

The details here related are not found with either Torquemada

or Barcia, and modern authors, including Shea and Lowery, could therefore not have incorporated the facts. Miss A. M. Brooks of St. Augustine first published these documents in her "Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine." This valuable book is a collection of letters and reports which she unearthed at Seville, and had transcribed. The first paper is a royal decree of Phillip II, dated August 15, 1565. The last document is a letter of the Captain-General of Florida to the Comandante of St. Augustine, and dated Madrid, December 5, 1786. The translation from the Spanish was made by Mrs. Annie Averette of St. Augustine. The book seems to be intended for private circulation, as it bears neither the name of the publisher nor the year of publication.

X

After the Massacre of the Fathers, the missions of Guale and Cumberland Islands seem to have been abandoned for a while, or rather, the missionaries, save one as we shall see later, most probably retired to the monastery at St. Augustine, and from there visited their people more or less regularly. This may be only surmised, however; for the chronicles of that period are sadly deficient. Regular reports had not yet been prescribed by either the king or the ecclesiastical authorities, and that renders a connected history, so easy in California as regards statistics, most difficult with reference to Florida.

While the missionaries made their headquarters at the convent of St. Augustine, a great misfortune occurred to that community on March 14, 1599. The monastery was destroyed by fire, so that the friars had to take refuge at the hospital or hospice of Soledad. Fr. Blas de Montes, under date of February 25, 1600, reports the matter to the king as follows:

"Sir,—In other letters written to Your Majesty I have given an account of the fire we had on the 14th of March last year, 1599, in this city. Among other houses burned with the church was ours. We therefore came to the hospital for shelter, where we still are, and whence I implore Your Majesty to rebuild our house. The seven hundred ducats which are required to repair and cover the house, and which we hope you will send us, will be placed in deposit with

the treasurer of this province until a decision has been rendered regarding this country. On account of its ruined and barren condition, it is incapable of maintaining so many natives as are here; and, as was demonstrated the other day, many seem to think they will order this garrison removed to another more advantageous place. Should this be the case, your servant will advise you at once of all that occurs.

"In the report I make to you about the Indians, I must say, My Lord, that we make little progress, and are but poorly esteemed by them. The fault must lie with us. There will no doubt be those who will so report to Your Majesty. The good esteem which I am directed to have for the governor, I shall try to show in every respect, except that I shall not neglect my duties; these I shall perform as I have always done. In sending out the friars to convert the Indians and to teach the Christian doctrine, I have always observed the command given by Your Majesty as the royal patron. It is perfectly well known that no friar has been sent by me or my predecessors to convert Indians and teach them without the permission and sanction of the governor. Should it become necessary, I will make him acknowledge this fact, which he well knows. As we are so few he can not be ignorant of it, since we eat from his hands at all times.

"If this country is to be made prosperous and to be civilized,

it would be well to send a bishop here, because it is quite necessary to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. For the peace, then, of those who live here, it would be well for Your Majesty to consider and to provide as you may see fit, and as God would wish. There is nothing a man should desire more than the salvation of his soul. For this reason, it seems urgent for me to retire from this work and to take shelter where I can secure this end while I serve Your Majesty in seclusion. For this purpose I humbly beg and implore Your Majesty to send me a permit to return to Spain, because I feel certain I can be of little benefit while I remain in this country. May our Blessed Lord preserve Your Majesty in peace and love.

Your servant,

Fr. Blas De Montes."

This letter reveals no little dissatisfaction with the conditions on the Florida peninsula. It again clearly shows what an undignified position the missionaries held in the Spanish dominion, owing to the so-called "union" of Church and State. Here, as elsewhere, their very spiritual activity was dependent on the will of the governor. That the Spanish missionaries, nevertheless, with the help of God contrived to convert the Indian tribes of the Western Continent from Colorado to Patagonia, and even the natives on the Philippines, proves with what patience, fortitude, prudence, and unselfishness they labored. Only men thoroughly imbued with religion, and wholly stripped of self, could have submitted to the endless vexations and

opposition from petty officials, and not lose the respect of the aborigines.

A letter written to the King by the famous Fr. Francisco Pareja about the same time, throws more light on the situation. It reads as follows:

"Sir,—This is a synopsis of the letter sent to Your Majesty by a vessel which left this port of St. Augustine in February this year, 1600, via Habana. I therein gave an account of the spread of the Gospel in this land, as I was one of the eleven religious despatched by Your Majesty to teach these natives. When we arrived, we were assigned to different places, and each one tried his utmost to do what he could for the redemption of these souls. It proved an arduous and difficult life, as we had to travel afoot over bad roads, and at times had little or nothing to eat. As yet, not much fruit has been yielded, though the harvest, which we hope eventually to reap for the Lord, is worth the trials and sacrifices made, since we know that He suffered a bitter passion and death in order to redeem souls, and that He rejoices over the salvation of even one. How much more should we be willing to suffer for the conversion of so many souls whom we hope to save with the help of God! There are more than eighty churches which we have built in the different missions, and others are under construction. We are moved to do this in order to encourage the Indians, who seem hardly capable of good conceptions and obedience.

They listen with little appreciation to what we preach, notwithstanding that our teaching accrues to their own good, inasmuch as we also provide for them in the time of need when the crops have failed. These Indians are so lazy and improvident that if, after planting, we did not also take care of their crops, they would have nothing. They do not even save the seed for another planting.

"Of the governor I should like to say as little as possible. The misery and calamities among the Indians and Christians are due to his avarice. If the poor Spaniards at St. Augustine had not the hope that Your Majesty would be in some way informed, and would send them relief from the fearful calamity which the garrison is suffering, the affliction among the married and single men would become unendurable. They dare not, under any circumstances, send you information, as it would cost them their lives. Therefore, they have prayed me as their chaplain to do so. The war with the Indians in which many were killed and many taken prisoners, was uncalled for, and the Indians at 'El Boca de Martire' are much incensed. As it is a place where many ships are wrecked, they have taken the whole crew and kept them until ransomed. So from the Indians will do much damage to vessels passing to and fro. We feel sorry that the governor has shown so much anger towards the Indians, and has sent to Your Majesty such meagre accounts of the true condition of this presidio. The place is swampy, little inhabited by Indians, and the roads are difficult. The bar is a rough one; it is said there are better ones on this coast toward the north. I have so heard through

Fr. Baltazar Lopez, "lieur of that island," (probably Cuale) who has been there for twelve years working for the conversion of souls with other friars who came with him, but who have left for New Spain (Mexico). He is one remains at his post, very hopeful, as he has mastered the Indian language, which is of great help to him in preaching. He has converted many who now frequent the Sacraments of Confession, and Communion. Had it not been for him, who converted the Cacique Don Juan, there would have been a terrible uprising among the Indians, and probably not a Spaniard would have been left. Thus through the influence of Fr. Baltazar over Don Juan, who is highly in favor of Christianity and civilized ideas, this trouble was averted. Don Juan even sent relief to the people of this town during the time of the famine. As Fr. Baltazar's experience is of long standing, it has been decided that he should write to Your Majesty, and give a full account of all that has happened."

XI

Famine and other calamities, at length, had the effect of taming the pride and obstinacy of the savages, so that the governor found it easier to extend Spanish rule over a wider district. However, like all discoverers and conquerors, he soon learned that the military could not subjugate the natives permanently. They might overcome brute force with brute force, but they could not subdue the will of the savages, much less gain their affection by force. In all the newly discovered countries, only the gentle messengers of the Gospel had been able to convince the aborigines that submission to Christianity and subjection to the superior forces of the white people would result in prosperity to themselves. Hence it was that the governor of Florida repeatedly supplicated the viceroy, and even the king himself, to send more Franciscan friars to the peninsula, because these unworldly men had proved the most efficient means of pacifying the country.

The friars were accordingly reintroduced to the Guale province, and they again took up the work of conversion where their martyred predecessors had been forced to leave it. These missionaries went far beyond the former missions, and penetrated into the very interior. By means of kindness, gentleness, and their good example, they succeeded in eradicating some of the bad customs, and moderated the innate ferocity of the savages. Unfortunately, the country in which they toiled was so exceedingly poor that the king had to provide for the meagre sustenance of the abstemious friars. True messengers of Christ, they wandered about on foot, even when horses were available,

passing over hills and through extensive valleys, or wading through marshes frequently waist-high in muddy water. In short, says the chronicler, the hardships and privations were indescribable. Only love of God and zeal for His creatures could have impelled them to endure it all, and with a cheerful countenance at that. Their charity, indeed, was so great that they economized on what they received from the royal stores in order to share it with the savages; for all the wealth of the natives consisted in two small pieces of animal skins with which they covered themselves. In this manner, these true disciples of St. Francis sought to convince the Indians of their sincerity and of the truths of Christianity.

Material poverty among the natives was bad enough, Barcia relates, but their mental poverty was even more deplorable. Rt. Rev. Juan Cabezas Altamirano, O. P., who had been elected Bishop of Cuba, visited Florida in 1603. He ventured into the interior in order to witness the labors of the friars and the condition of the Indians; he was probably the first bishop who exercised his authority and ministry on the peninsula. Exposing himself to great dangers and hardships, the zealous prelate took personal notice of everything. He was so sadly impressed with the mental condition of the savages that he could not forget it. Even ten years later, when he had become Bishop of Guatemala, he had an interesting discussion on the subject with Rev. Father Remefal. The question arose whether God could be known through the light of reason alone. Fr. Remefal, in confirmation of his view that God could

be known by means of the natural light alone, quoted the wellknown saying of an old philosopher: "If you wander over the earth, you may find cities without walls, without literature, without laws, without houses, and without monuments; but a city destitute of temples and gods, not offering prayers, oaths, and sacrifices for the purpose of obtaining some good, or averting some evil, such a city no one has ever seen." While not denying, of course, that God could be known through the light of reason alone, since that is of faith, the bishop intimated that it did not follow that all nations used the light of reason sufficiently to come to the knowledge that there is a God. At all events, said he, that pagan philosopher had not seen the majority of the savages in Florida, especially those on the coast; for these tribes possessed no idea of God, since they adored neither the sun nor the moon nor the stars nor anything whatsoever, but like beasts they roved among the forests, eating wild fruits, shellfish, or whatever they found to satisfy their hunger, and did not even know the use of fire.

In time, this state of things changed. Anxious to communicate the holy faith, the Franciscan friars went among the poor heathen people, learned their language, and adopted their ways as far as they might, with the result that so many were attracted to Christ that it became necessary to call for more helpers to till the promising vineyard of the Lord. In less than two years, they established in the chief villages as many as twenty residences.

The prospects appeared so hopeful that at the Intermediate Chapter of the Order, held at Toledo in 1603, it was resolved to establish the Custody of Florida and to join to it the convents of Havana and Bergamo. Fr. Pedro Luis was named first custos. He had previously labored on the peninsula. This event took place four years before the English founded their first settlement in America, Jamestown, Virginia.

Success continued to crown the efforts of the zealous friars to the delight of the government; for the conversion of the savages meant peace. Governor Pedro Ibarra, for instance, reported to the king on May 16, 1607, the year in which Jamestown, Virginia, came into existence: "This week, which is Holy Week, I have had here several chiefs from the interior. They have returned to their country, clothed, very happy, and very much impressed with the religious services and processions which they witnessed during Holy Week. They ask for missionaries in order that their people may receive instruction in the Christian faith." One of the friars, later accompanying twenty savages, discovered that the Indians of the interior were more numerous and somewhat more cultured than those on the coast. Fr. Alonso no sooner heard this than he proceeded to their villages, preached all along the route, and applied names to places and notable points wherever he went.

A new era opened with the year 1612. Fr. Luis Geronimo de Ore, a native of Peru, who wrote the "Relacion de los Martires de Florida,"

published in 1604, and "El Simbolo Catolico Indiano," besides other learned works, went to Florida with twenty-three Franciscans. In the same year, the General Chapter of the Order raised the custody of Florida to the rank of a province under the patronage of St. Helen, and thereafter it is found enumerated among the provinces as "Provincia de la Santa Elena de Florida." The mother-house, however, was located at Havana. Fr. Juan Capillas was chosen first provincial. So there existed a Franciscan province in what is now the United States eight years before the Puritans set foot on Plymouth Rock. Eight additional Franciscans were in 1613 despatched to Florida in order to promote the work of conversion more effectively.

The missionaries were materially aided in their efforts to instil a knowledge of God, of His commandments, and of the means of salvation into the dull minds of the natives by the works of Fr. Francisco Pareja. This good Father early observed how difficult it was for the missionary to impart the truths of salvation in a foreign tongue. To compel a people to acquire a knowledge of a foreign and to them probably distasteful language in order that they might learn how to reach their Creator, was equivalent to barring the gates of heaven to not a few. Fr. Pareja, accordingly, employed his spare time translating the chief points of Christian doctrine into the native idiom. In this way, with the text in both

languages before him, the least able instructor might fairly well communicate what is necessary for salvation.

The result of Fr. Pareja's thoughtfulness and zeal were the following books: "Catecismo en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana," Mexico, 1612, "Catechism in the Spanish and the Timuquan Language." This is the first work written in the language of an Indian tribe within the United States. It was published in Mexico, eight years before the so-called Pilgrim Fathers reached Massachusetts. In the same year, the "Catecismo y Breve Exposicion de la Doctrina Christiana," was printed in Mexico. Other works were, "Confesionario en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana," Mexico, 1613; "Gramatica de la Lengua Timuquana de Florida," Mexico, 1614; "Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Timuquana," Mexico, 1617; "Catecismo y Examen para los que Comulgan, en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana," Mexico, 1727; that is to say, "Catechism and Examen for those who receive Communion, in Spanish and Timuquan." Fr. Francisco Pareja died at the Great Monastery of San Francisco in the city of Mexico on January 25, 1628.

Among the many deprivations to which the missionaries on the peninsula had to submit, the one most keenly felt was the necessity of having to labor alone amid the dusky savages; for the mission stations lay so far apart that the friars were frequently unable to aid one another. Spiritually, therefore, the Indians fared better in a certain sense than their spiritual guides; because, while solicitous to bring the Sacraments within the reach of the least neophyte, the missionaries themselves for long periods were deprived of the ministrations of a fellow priest. If a missionary desired, for instance, to approach the Sacred Tribunal, he had to make a weary journey on foot, traverse the Everglades, and often wade through streams and marshes in order to avail himself of the graces dispensed in the Sacrament of Penance.

Yet, it was probably on account of all these hardships willingly and lovingly borne for the sake of the Divine Master and the souls of the poor Indians, that their self-sacrifice received commensurate returns in the numerous conversions from paganism which they were enabled to record. By the year 1634, for example, the Fathers had gathered as many as 30,000 converts in the forty-four mission stations then existing; but, of the thirty-five religious engaged in the work five succumbed to the privations endured. As no recruits were obtainable, the

desire of the Apalachee Indians to have priests among their people in north western Florida, could not be gratified till the year 1633, when the Fr. Guardian of the convent at St. Augustine himself set out with one companion. Two years later, the Fr. Custos reported that the zealous Father still continued his work among the Apalachecans, and that he had been able to baptize five thousand members of that tribe. In 1639, the Apalachee chief of Cupaya came to St. Augustine to be instructed and baptized. When he returned to his people, he took with him a Franciscan Father, who was to found missions in that part of the Apalachee country.

Gradually, more missionary volunteers arrived from Spain so that by the year 1647, according to Barcia, the convent of San Francisco at St. Augustine had become the shelter of fifty Franciscans, who from there attended the neophytes in their numerous villages.

The reader may form some idea of the extent of the Indian missions in Florida, at this time, from the following list quoted by Shea from the memorial made by some writer who is not named. According to this authority, the headquarters of all the missionaries was, of course, the convent at St. Augustine, where the Fr. Guardian resided with two lay brothers. Thither the Fathers returned to take a much needed rest or to recuperate after being overcome in the quest of souls by hardships and disease. The

nearest missionary was at Nombre de Dios, then about one mile from the town, but now within the city limits. Nuestra Senore de Guadalupe was about ten miles distant, and San Juan del Puerto was situated on the coast. Thence along the shore northward, were San Pedro del Mocarno, San Buenaventura de Guadalquivi, Santo Domingo de Talego, San Jose de Zapala, Santa Catalina de Guale, and San Felipe, the last named being fifty-four leagues from St. Augustine. Six leagues beyond lay the most northerly station, Chatuache.

In another direction, towards the interior, between thirty and sixty leagues from headquarters, were Santiago de Ocone, Santa Cruz de Tureia, San Augustin de Urica, Santa Maria de los Angeles de Arapaja, Santa Cruz de Cachipile, San Ildefonso de Chamini, San Francisco de Chuaqun, San Pedro y San Pablo de Potutriba, Santa Elena de Machaba, and San Miguel de Asile.

In the Apalachee country, the mission stations were San Lorenzo, Concepcion, San Jose, San Juan, San Pedro y San Pablo, San Cosme y San Damian, San Luis, and San Martin. On the way from St. Augustine to the Apalachee district, the wandering missionary might moreover take refuge at the missions of San Martin de Ayacouto, Santa Fe de Tolcco, and San Francisco de Potano.

From St. Augustine southward, the zealous friars maintained the missionary stations of Santa Lucia de Acuera, San Antonio de Macape, San Salvador de Mayaca, and San Diego de Luca.

Around these places as many as 26,000 convert Indians gathered to worship God, of whom, but a few years previously, they had had no conception. This was, indeed, a glorious achievement, which was exceeded only by the results accomplished in California.

It would be pleasant to give some details of the work of the friars, but, as usual, they entrusted this phase of the matter to the Recording Angel for the Day of General Reckoning. Fortunately, we are afforded a glimpse in the report of an outsider. A certain Dickinson, who had suffered shipwreck on the coast, with his party of sailors visited several missions. From him we know that Santa Cruz, two or three leagues from St. Augustine, was in charge of a Franciscan Father. The place had a church which boasted of five bells. The Indians were as regular and attentive at their devotions as the Spaniards. There was also a spacious council-house, where the Indians could assemble and discuss the momentous questions that happened to agitate the community, or where they might enjoy themselves at story-telling. Let no one imagine that Indians do not know how to make a speech, or spin a yarn. In every village some may be found who appear to be born orators. It would surprise our most gifted political harangners to observe with what grace and

fluency the chiefs can deliver a speech that may last an hour or more. It must be interesting, for the audience listens with rapt attention, especially when there is enough tobacco to go around for such a "smoker," or a powwow, as the meeting is called. Yes, the council-house was quite a necessary institution in an aboriginal village, civilized or other. As long as they have a sufficient store of smoking tobacco, their contentment is complete. Red men, as well as white men, are said to be most readily approachable through the stomach; but nothing will persuade the Indian so readily as a pipe and enough tobacco to keep it filled. Let readers who may think of making occasional donations, remember this. Ribbons and kerchiefs for the women and girls, tobacco for the men, are gifts that will be appreciated by them. And what of the boys? Well, a young redskin can kick a football, hit a baseball, or win at marbles just as well as the liveliest pale face youngster.

Dickenson found San Juan, situated on an island, thirteen leagues beyond Santa Cruz, quite a populous town, which had a church, and which was attended by a Franciscan Father. The people were industrious, and they possessed an abundance of hogs, poultry, and corn. Santa Maria also had a church, in charge of a Franciscan. Here the Indian boys were taught elementary branches at school, presumably by the missionary himself.

Santa Catalina, on the other hand, was in ruins; but Dickenson (October 10, 1699) observed that this settlement of Indians must have been quite large, because the land had been cleared and cultivated for a distance of some miles. The reason for the ruined condition of the mission will be explained later.

IIII

It would, indeed, astonish the student of Church history, especially of mission history, if, after the remarkable successes achieved by the Franciscans in Florida, the implacable enemy of immortal souls had not risen in fury against those who are destined to fill the places forfeited by him and his entourage. As was pointed out in the beginning of this series, the inhabitants of the western hemisphere appear to have been claimed by Lucifer as his very own, mortgaged to him body and soul, as it were. In many places, he was actually, though only in abject fear, worshipped as supreme lord. In not a few regions, such as the central states of what is now Mexico, human sacrifices at the rate of 20,000 a year were offered to the dreaded demon in order to appease him, until Fernando Cortes arrived and put an end to the shocking cult.

Although there is no evidence that such fiendish rites were practiced in Florida or anywhere else within the present limits of the United States, except probably on a small scale along the upper Rio Grande in New Mexico, nevertheless, these savages of the peninsula failed to recognize and serve their Creator. Like the other aborigines of North America, they gave themselves up to loathesome animalism, the characteristic of paganism the world over. For the time being, that was agreeable enough to the fallen spirits. To prevent Almighty God from being adored and loved, that was the aim of the infernal spirits among the red

men in the early days, just as it is their ambition now among the white pagans of our day.

To observe these same Indians, who had, at least indirectly, served the devil, now turning to their God and Father in Heaven after the clouds of intellectual darkness had been dispelled by the missionaries; to behold them actually offering intelligent worship to their Creator and Savior; to find them spurning the beastly habits in which they had reveled in the past, and devoting themselves to purity of life and noble aspirations: that was much more than the haughty prince of darkness could brook. Quite in keeping with his record, he swore to revenge himself first upon the causes, rather the instruments, of this wonderful change, and then upon those who had dared to abandon his degrading vassalage for the elevating observance of the moral code of Christianity.

It might be supposed Satan would have incited the Indians to revolt against the audacious friars and to murder them. The jealous nature of the aborigines might always be counted on to furnish an occasion; but he had employed this means to rid himself of the presence of the missionaries earlier in the history of the peninsula, with the result that other friars, and in greater numbers, would take up the work of their martyred brethren. Besides, such victims of anti-Christian hatred would be

venerated as heroes of the Faith of Christ, as saints; and thus Satan would actually be adding to the everlasting happiness of those he detested--reason enough for his spiteful envy to choose another way, which had been observed to be quite effective. Moreover,the friars had really entered the missionary field in the hope of meeting with just such a death in order to give evidence of their love for Christ and to increase his glory. Hence, they would be prepared. No, he must strike them from a quarter whence the devoted messengers of Christ expected assistance, or, at all events, anything rather than opposition.

Thus it was that, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the prosperous and numerous Apalachee missions of northwestern Florida received a deadly blow, not from foreign enemies, but from the very representative of the King of Spain, the Governor of Florida himself. Nor was this an isolated case. Far too frequently under the Spanish rule the civil and military authorities, instead of protecting and aiding the missionaries, undid what it had taken decades to accomplish. So the demon in Florida was only repeating an old trick, which he had executed, and still executes the world over.

Two letters dated March 13 and April 4, 1657, which Fr. Juan Gomez de Egraba wrote from St. Augustine, and which Shea reproduces in substance, explain the cause and effect of the

governor's interference. "Things are in a most disastrous condition in Florida," says the letter of April 4 to the king, of which letter we have a copy. "There will soon be no government left, if God does not help us." The governor of Florida, in a most foolish mood, had sent orders to the caciques of Tarigica, an Apalachee, that the chiefs of that tribe should repair to St. Augustine, and that each one in person must carry a load of corn. "The cacique," Fr. Gomez reports further, "refused to send his principal Indians to St. Augustine with heavy loads of corn. I don't know why the governor insisted on this labor, but the cacique, gathering together the other caciques, xxxxx resolved that their principal Indians should not be made to do this work, because they were not vassals whom the governor might command, especially since he had laborers to do such work. The governor took the refusal much to heart, and like a man of little experience insisted until he caused them to rise. They said they were not slaves. They had become Christians to obey God. They had never been conquered; but they had voluntarily listened to the Word of God which the missionaries had taught them." When the foolish official attempted to compel the chiefs to submit to the degradation, an insurrection broke out, and several Spaniards were killed. The governor then took the field against the great chief of the Apalachees, and several engagements were fought. Finally, the governor succeeded in capturing six or seven chiefs, and had them hanged. The war

thus provoked by the governor's oppression completely destroyed the missions among the Apalachees; for, their minds became so embittered that the Franciscans were unable to exercise any beneficial influence over them. With heavy hearts, therefore, the missionaries withdrew, and embarked for Havana to await more favorable times. Some of them reached Cuba, however; for all were drowned in the gulf or while crossing the channel. This was most unfortunate in that their death deprived Florida of all religious teachers skilled in the Apalachee language. Who the friars were, or how many, it is impossible to say. The whole story is shrouded in mystery.

For the time being, Satan appears to have been satisfied with depriving the Apalachees on the gulf-side of their shepherds, which was bad enough. In the course of time, however, other missionaries of the same Order made their appearance, and restored Christian life and ideals among the natives; but we must not anticipate the darkest chapter in the history of the peninsula—darkest from a worldly point of view. From the Christian hero's point of view it is the most glorious.

XIV

The Rt. Rev. Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, on August 23, 1674, arrived in St. Augustine for the purpose of making the canonical visitation of this part of his diocese. He began his labors on the next day by conferring Minor Orders on seven young men of the best white families. This is the first instance, as far as known, that holy Orders were administered within the limits of the United States.

On August 29, the Bishop was solemnly received at the Franciscan monastery by Fr. Antonio de Urchia, Visitor-General, Fr. Francisco Perete, Provincial, and Fr. Alonso del Moral, Custos and ex-Provincial.

As in other parts of the Spanish dominions, (the same obstacles were encountered by the Jesuit missionaries in the French Canadian mission field) greedy and irreligious merchants, masters, and officials in Florida would discourage or prevent their Indian servants from attending religious instruction and worship. The result was ignorance of the very rudiments of religion among the natives. The zealous Bishop determined to bring such faithless Catholics to a sense of their duty. On October 7, therefore, he issued an edict commanding all masters, under penalty of excommunication and a fine of twenty ducats, to send their Indian servants to the catechism classes conducted by the Franciscans every Sunday and holiday. The masters were also forbidden to work

their servants on Sundays and holydays.

Bishop Calderon went further. He personally visited the outlying Indian missions in order to ascertain their needs. Undeterred by rains, he would cross rivers in canoes lashed together. In such a manner, he reached Santa Fe, the chief mission of the Timuquan tribes, and there gave Confirmation to all who had been prepared. Thence he made his way as far as Taragica, in the Apalachian country.

For eight months the good Bishop thus traveled over Florida, regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of the country, and correcting abuses that had crept into the widely scattered flock. Not content with merely giving orders, Bishop Calderon expended eleven thousand dollars in his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the faithful of both races.

From his report, as Shea points out, we find that five new missions were established in this and the following year. They were San Nicholas de Tolentino, and another not named, among the Choctaw Indians, La Asuncion among the Caparas, Amacanos, and Chines, La Candelaria among the Tamas, and La Natividad de Nuestra Senora. Furthermore, the report shows that Fr. Pedro de Luna was stationed at Guadalquini, probably Jykill Island on the Georgia coast; Fr. Pedro de la Lastra at San Felipe, six

leagues from Guadalquini; Fr. Diego Bravo at San Juan del Puerto; Fr. Bernabe de los Angles at Santa Catalina, now St. Catherine's; Fr. Juan Bautista Campana at San Jose de Sapala, now Sapelo; and Fr. Juan de Useda at Asao, or St. Simon's Island. From this it is clear that Indian missions were maintained by the friars almost to within the vicinity of the new English settlements in South Carolina, and that the energetic Bishop Calderon must have indeed reached South Carolina on his thorough visitation. The Bishop reports the number of Christians, children and adults, confirmed as 13,152, which agrees with the Catholic population given by the missionaries about that time, as Shea observes. In 1676, the year following the Bishop's visitation tour, and probably as a result of his demands upon the king, Fr. Alonso del Moral, in spite of great opposition, as Barcia remarks, returned to Florida with twenty-four volunteer friars, and was with much cordiality welcomed at St. Augustine by Governor Juan de Hita y Salazar.

The King of Spain, finding that no Synod had been held in the diocese of Cuba from its inception, in 1673 directed Bishop Calderon to convoke one; but, as the good Bishop died on March 16, 1676, possibly in consequence of the hardships endured in Florida, the duty fell to his successor the Rt. Rev. Juan Garcia de Palacios. The sessions opened at Havana on Whitsunday, 1684.

The Constitution, signed June 16, continued in force in Florida until the Spanish flag ceased to wave over the territory.

What concerns us here is only the legislation which affected the Indian missions and their wards. In accordance with Papal Bulls on the subject, the Synod of Havana exempted the Indians from observing the holydays of obligation, not fewer than thirty-eight, kept by Spaniards. The Indian Catholics were obliged to abstain from work and to assist at holy Mass, in addition to Sundays, only on the following days: Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Ascension, Corpus Christi, S. S. Peter and Paul, Assumption, All Saints, and Christmas. Likewise, the Indians were obliged to fast only on Fridays in Lent, on Holy Saturday, and on Christmas Eve.

The title in the Acts of the Synod treating of Florida closes with words that fairly express the sentiment with which Mother Church, and the Spanish laws as well, always regarded the poor natives of America. "Obeying," says the article, "another royal order of May 21, 1678, in which His Majesty, in keeping with His Catholic piety, charges us that we should, on our part, provide with all attention and vigilance, for the relief and the good treatment of the Indians, we most affectionately admonish the missionaries to treat them well and charitably, and not to consent that any person, ecclesiastical or secular, maltreat them in word

or deed, using due effort in all cases, in a matter so important to the service of God and His Majesty, wherewith we charge them in conscience."

Unfortunately, although she found that Florida was not self-supporting, Spain neglected to plant settlements on the Chesapeake, where shell-fish and wild fowl have proved a resource. She allowed the English to plant that district, and at last to extend their settlements to the country immediately north of St. Helena Sound. In proportion as the new English colony in South Carolina grew, it became a menace to the Spanish posessions, and eventually ruined them.

XV

Credit must be given to the Spanish Kings and the Council of the Indies for sincerely desiring the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians in Spanish dominions. Numerous laws bear witness to that fact. Unfortunately, the officials, who were expected to execute their laws in the Indies, rarely exhibited the same concern for the natives under their jurisdiction. Some proved cruel, others indifferent, and but few realized their responsibility and sought to benefit the poor Indians.

Florida officials, as we have seen, were no exception. Some of the governors were evidently unfit for their high position, but too haughty to seek or to accept counsel from the missionaries. The consequence was that the Indians were frequently subjected to illtreatment. If they remonstrated, they would receive worse treatment, until growing desperate they would rise in rebellion. For a time, they would cause some damage and commit a few murders, but usually they suffered defeat and the loss of many dead and wounded. Such occurrences at the period which we have reached led to the issuance of another royal order dated September 27, 1681, and addressed to the Most Rev. Fr. Comissary-General of the Indies. He was therein directed to instruct his subjects in Florida, the Franciscans, "to see that the Indians were treated with suavity and gentleness, without exasperating them, so that they might the more cheerfully attend to the service of God and listen to religious instructions." Furthermore, the Fathers were ordered to see that the Indians were paid for their labor.

However, Florida lay too far distant from the court of Spain, and the king generally needed money for more pressing wants, so that the requisite forces, could not be despatched for executing the royal decrees. One of the governors, not impressed with the necessity of employing the kindness and consideration that carefully avoided exasperating the natives, was Juan Marquez Cabrera. On the ground that their missions were endangered by the English, he demanded that the convert Indians of San Felipe, San Simon, Santa Catalina, Sapala or Sapelo Island, Tupichi, Asao or St. Simon's Island, Odalquini along the Georgia and South Carolinian coast, should remove to the islands of Santa Maria, San Juan, and Santa Cruz nearer the headquarters of the governor at St. Augustine.

Had Cabrera understood the character of the Indians, he would have gone about the execution of this plan, if it was necessary at all, very slowly and gently, and if he encountered unwillingness, he would have desisted altogether. The reason is that the Indians are far more attached to their native district than white people appear to be. Europeans (by this term we here mean all who originally came from Europe) move hither and thither, and settle in any latitude or longitude where they can improve their condition. With them the maxim prevails: Where I fare well, there is my country. Not so with the Indian. He loves his native soil. There is his home, and this home, be it ever so humble, as it generally is, attracts him like nothing else, save his liberty. To force him to leave it, will embitter him. The government of the United States has learned this

at the cost of much blood and money. Many Indian wars had no other cause than the demand upon the Indian that he should leave his native plot for another. Even here in Florida one of the bloodiest Indian wars, the Seminole War under Chief Osceola in 1835, taught the Government to respect the affection of the Indians for their native hamlets.

As might have been expected, Governor Cabrera, in the case of the Yamasee Indians, met with a flat refusal, and when it was feared that force would be used, they abandoned the mission. Some fled to the woods, and others went over to English territory. The missionaries, in 1684, used every means of persuasion in order to induce the neophytes of the Guale province to remain; but fear of the Spanish governor drove them to the English camps, and thus the missions were once more ruined through the stupidity and conceit of a haughty official, in open disregard of the royal wishes. The English, of course, welcomed the fugitives in the hope of using them against the hated Spaniards, who disputed the right of the British to that territory. They succeeded only too well, for these same Indians, in the next year, suddenly invaded the Timuquan territory, sacked the mission of Santa Catalina, carried off the vestments and sacred vessels, burned the village, and retired with plunder, after killing many convert Indians. Some of the neophytes, who had been spared, were sold as slaves to the Protestant settlers of South Carolina.

Don Diego de Quiroga y Losada, Cabrera's successor, adopted a conciliatory policy towards the natives, and soon gained their confidence. A better feeling prevailed throughout the peninsula, as a letter written by an Apalache chief, and two letters from Timuquan chiefs testify. These letters, whose facsimile signatures are reproduced in Shea's "Colonial History of the Church in the United States," are proof that the chiefs in Spanish Florida, before the end of the seventeenth century, knew how to write, and that they must have learned the art from their Franciscan missionaries.

At the instance of Rt. Rev. Diego Evelino de Compostela, Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, a band of twenty Franciscan missionaries, headed by Fr. Felician Lopez, were sent to Florida early in 1697. Eight were stationed in the new missions of Mayaca, Toroto, Anacapi, San Antonio, and San Joseph; six were appointed for the province of Carlos Reys, whence the son of the chief had to come to St. Augustine to aks for priests; the rest were sent to other regions.

The Fathers entered on their work with zeal, and at first, success seemed to crown their efforts; but in October 1697, the pagan Indians of Toroto and of four other towns of that district rose against the Spaniards, killed one missionary, one soldier, and five Indian converts, burned the mission structures, and then disappeared in the woods. The surviving missionaries, left without a flock or shelter, returned to St. Augustine. The field was not abandoned, however. Five religious, with an experienced Superior versed in the language

of the natives, were sent to reclaim the Indians, and according to a report of the provincial dated August 15, 1696, apparently succeeded.

The conversion of the Carlos Indians in the extreme south of the peninsula was undertaken by Fr. Felician Lopez himself. He sailed from Havana on September 11, 1697, with the five religious, Fernanda Ramos, Miguel Carrillo, Francisco de Jesus, Francisco de San Diego, and a lay brother, and supplies of all kinds. After touching at Key West, they proceeded to the town of Cayucos. The old chief, who was very ill, earnestly solicited Baptism, which was conferred upon him after the necessary instruction. Meanwhile, a house and a chapel for the Franciscan Fathers were erected. Instead of coming to be instructed, however, the savages thronged a hut used for idolatrous purposes. They even called upon the missionaries to give food and clothing for their idols. When the friars declined, and urged the Indians to abandon the foolish idolatry, the young chief told them that his gods were offended, and that the white preachers should leave the country. When the missionaries refused, they were seized, robbed of their provisions and church articals, taken from Key to Key, and finally left naked at Matecumbe. There the vessel which had brought the messengers of the Gospel, found them on the return voyage, and brought them back to Havana by February, 1698.

XVI

In 1702, the English Governor Moore of South Carolina availed himself of the War of the Spanish Succession to plunder the Florida settlements and to obtain more Indian slaves. He prepared the way by instigating the Apalachicolas to invade the country of the Apalache Christians. The aggressors attacked Santa Fe, one of the chief towns of the Timuquans, on May 20, 1702, and burned the church. The Catholic Indians, however, succeeded in saving the vestments and pictures.

Governor Moore, with fourteen or fifteen vessels, next infested St. Augustine by sea, while English colonial militia and Indian savages under Col. Daniel attacked the city by land. Previous to this, the Christian Indians on the islands from St. Catherine's down to Amelia (Cumberland) had retired to St. Mark's Island, where they formed three towns. The English and savage hordes set fire to these peaceful settlements, and captured three Franciscan Fathers, while the Indian converts fled to St. Augustine. The fate of the Fathers is unknown. The Spanish governor, Jose de Zuniga, bravely resisted the enemies until October 22, 1702, when the arrival of Spanish ships caused the English to raise the siege which had lasted fifty days. Not being able to escape in his ships, Governor Moore burned them and retreated over land, but not before he had set fire to the town, the church, and the Franciscan convent which lay outside the fort.

"To show what friends some of them (the English) are to learning and books," writes Rev. Edward Marston, a Protestant preacher, in his "Documentary History of P. E. Church," quoted by Shea, "when they were at Saint Augustine, they burned a library of books worth about £600, (3,000), wherein were a collection of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the Holy Bible itself did not escape, because it was in Latin. This outrage was done as soon as they arrived, by order of Colonel Daniel."

This was evidently the fine library in the Franciscan convent at St. Augustine, says Shea, and it is most creditable that a little place like the capital of Florida, then possessed a library of ecclesiastical works that could win for its extent and value such encomium from an enemy. As soon as possible Fr. Martin de Alcano, guardian of the convent, proceeded to Spain in order to describe to the king the ruin of the ancient place. The Spanish monarch at once ordered the income of vacant dioceses to be applied for the rebuilding of the church and the convent, the "hallowed shrine and the domestic hearth that English bigotry had laid in ashes."

Greed and bigotry prompted Governor Moore to organize another expedition against the Spanish settlements. If he could not take a Spanish fort, he could carry off the Indian converts of the Spanish priests, and sell them as slaves. He accordingly

with a force of English and one thousand savage allies suddenly entered the territory of the Apalachee toward the close of the year 1703. Lieutenant Juan Ruiz de Mejia, who commanded the little Spanish garrison, with the Apalachee, prepared to resist the enemy. Fr. Juan de Parga, the missionary at Patali, addressed the Indians, and urged them to fight bravely for God's holy Law, as no death could be more glorious than to die for the faith and truth. When he had given absolution to all, Mejia advanced on the invaders with thirty Spanish soldiers and four hundred Apalachee. They wished Fr. Parga to stay behind, but he would not desert his flock. The heroic little army twice repulsed the assailants near Ayubale in the country around the present Tallahassee, on January 25, 1704. Unfortunately, the ammunition failed with the result that most of the Spaniards and Christians were killed or captured. Mejia, himself wounded, was taken along with Fathers Juan de Parga and Angel Miranda. Many of the prisoners were at once tied to stakes, tortured, and burned to death. Father Miranda in vain appealed to Governor Moore to prevent such horrible atrocities on prisoners before his very eyes. Father Parga himself was burned at the stake, beheaded, and his leg hacked off. Another friar, Fr. Marcos Delgado, endeavored to save Fr. Parga, but was slain for his charitable interference.

A party of the enemy then approached Patali. An apostate

Indian called for Fr. Manuel de Mendoza, who, not suspecting treachery, opened the window, and was shot through the head. The Indian town was then fired.

Consternation prevailed throughout the Apalache country. The Christians, who had not been captured, submitted to the English in order to escape the cruelties they saw perpetrated on their tribesmen. Of the eleven towns, Ybitaousho alone escaped. Governor Moore sent word to Perez, who still held the block-house at San Luis, two miles west of the present Tallahassee, that he would give up Mejia, Fr. Miranda and four soldiers for a consideration not specified; but as the Spanish officer could not furnish the ransom demanded, they were all burned at the stake. Several of the Indians while undergoing the torture showed in prayer and exhortation the heroism of the first Christian martyrs. This was especially the case with Antonio Enixa of the town of San Luis, and Amador Cuipa Feliciano of the same town. Moore at last retired, carrying off into slavery 1400 Apalachee warriors, after having killed the Spaniards and about two hundred Christian Indians.

When the English savages with their hardly less savage commander had departed from that region, Fr. Juan de Villaba with others went to the ruined villages. A scene of unparalleled horror met them on every side. Not only were the houses, cultivated fields, and orange groves destroyed, but bodies half burned were found

hanging from stakes or pierced by them, men and women scalped, mutilated, and burned! Fr. Parga's mangled body was discovered and borne to Ybitacucho; that of Fr. Mendoza was found amid the ruins of Patali, half consumed by the fire, his beads and partly melted crucifix sunk into the very flesh. Of Fathers Miranda and Marcos Delgado no trace seems to have been found.

"The martyrdom of Ayubabe," says John Gilmary Shea, "has no parallel in our annals except in the deaths of Fathers Brebeuf, Lalemant, Daniel, and Garnier in the Huron country, which has been so often and so pathetically described; but the butcheries perpetrated there were not enacted before the eyes and by the order of the governor of a Christian (!) colony."

The mission of Ybitacucho was maintained for a while longer, but the Indians, feeling that Spain could not protect them, fled westward, and sought refuge under the cannon of the new French fort at Mobile. The missions on the Atlantic coast, from St. John's to the Savannah, had already been broken up; the Apalache country was deserted; and other mission stations near St. Augustine, such as San Jose de Ocuia, Pilitiriba and San Francisco, had likewise been invaded. In the Apalache country alone, thirteen considerable Indian towns had flourished, each with a good church and a dwelling for the missionary. In 1729 all were found destroyed, and everything that could tempt cupidity was doubtless carried off.

XVII

In 1709 Rt. Rev. Dionisio Resino, auxiliary to the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, visited St. Augustine, and on June 26, administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to a multitude of persons of all classes. He was to stay in Florida, but returned to Cuba, and died there September 12, 1711.

Nuestra Senora de Leche (Our Lady of the Milk) at Nombre de Dios, outside the city walls to the north, where on September 8, 1565, the first holy Sacrifice had been offered up, and which had been used as a chapel for the Indian converts of the vicinity, next experienced the hatred of English sectarian bigotry. Colonel Palmer in 1827 led a raiding party of Georgians into Florida down to the very gates of St. Augustine. Not being able to take the city, his men plundered the chapel at Nombre de Dios, carried off the vestments, sacred vessels, votive offerings, and everything else of value. One of the soldiers took the figure of the Infant Jesus from the arms of the statue of Our Lady, and brought it to Colonel Palmer. That officer rebuked his men for taking the figure from the chapel, and said they would in time suffer for their act. Strangely enough, he failed to take his own counsel, and instead of restoring the figure of the Divine Child to its place, he threw it away from him to the ground. For this he himself brought on the punishment announced to his soldiers; forit is said that Colonel Palmer, eight years later,

was killed on the very spot whither he had thrown the little figure of his Divine Saviour.

As for the Indian converts, in the war with the Carolinas the once numerous and peaceful bands of native Christians were all but exterminated. Only three hundred survived, and these retired to the shelter of the guns of the fort at St. Augustine. The cowled shepherds bereft of their sheep thereupon turned their attention to tribes which had hitherto manifested little disposition to be influenced by missionaries. In 1726, the zealous Fathers had made such progress among the Yamassees of Eastern Georgia and South Carolina that three missions could be established among them, each with a palmetto church and a dwelling for the missionary. Two of these were dedicated in honor of San Antonio, the third in honor of San Diego. Three villages of the Yguaca nation, chiefly composed of old converts, were dedicated respectively in honor of Santa Catalina (St. Catherine), Our Lady of Guadalupe, and San Jose. The church buildings were constructed of boards. Nombre de Dios, a Chiluca town of old Christians, had a church of stone. Santa Fe, a Timuquan village, San Luis, an Apalache settlement, and San Antonio, a Compulla Town, San Antonio among the Costas, and a third San Antonio in the Apalache country, were other Christian Indian stations. Each of the six stations had its Franciscan missionary.

Besides these a mission among the Escapiras and another in the Fraya deserve mention. Mission San Juan in the Apalache province was established for all who joined it from the Apalache and the Tamasaco nations. On the whole, the Fathers in Florida could still report more than one thousand Christian Indians in their charge about the year 1726. The Confraternity of Our Lady of Soledad at St. Augustine deserved well for defraying the expenses of maintaining services at the church of St. Mark on the Apalache River, a place fortified in 1718 for the protection of the convert Indians of that region.

On Santa Rosa Island, near Pensacola, a fortification was thrown up, and a chapel erected attended by Fr. Manuel de Rosalico. When in 1719 Pensacola was invested by the French under Bienville, and captured, Fr. Jose Dasche and Fr. Jose del Castillo, Franciscans and chaplains, were taken to Havana. Finding that they could not hold the place, the French set fire to the fort and town. Not even the church was spared; the vestments and sacred vessels were carried away. When the site was restored to Spain, Pensacola was rebuilt in a new locality near the western extremity of Santa Rosa Island. Some years later the city was moved to its present site, and Santa Rosa Island abandoned. No trace even of the church or settlement exists.

A report of March 9, 1738, says that eight Indian towns existed near St. Augustine, each of which had a missionary of its own, who like the converts lived in a poor hut, attending a chapel but little better. These Indian villages were: Nombre de Dios at Pocaris with forty-three souls: Nuestra Senora de la Asuncion at Palicia with forty-eight souls; San Antonio de la Costa with twenty-three; Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe at Tolomato with twenty-nine; Nuestra Senora del Rosario at La Punta with fifty-one; Santo Domingo de Chicalito with fifty-five and San Nicolas de Casapullas with seventy-one souls.

XVIII

An important and most fortunate event for Florida was the appointment of the Spanish Franciscan Fr. Francisco de San Buenaventura Martinez, Tejada Diez de Velasco as auxiliary to the Bishop of Santiago, Cuba. He had been lector of philosophy and theology, and later guardian of the monastery in his native city, Seville. After his consecration, he proceeded to St. Augustine in 1735. He appears to have made a visitation of the territory, though we have no reports on his activity outside the city. On his arrival, he found the population of St. Augustine to consist of 1509 souls. According to the testimony of the governor, Bishop Tejada's zeal brought on a transformation, in that the people were aroused to frequent the sacraments and practice piety. He also conducted a school, which was the only one in Florida, the English in their fanaticism having destroyed the missions in the districts.

It was while active at St. Augustine that Governor James Oglethorpe of Georgia with 2000 troops, including savage warriors, and a fleet of eleven ships laid siege to the town and fort in 1740. The Spanish governor Montemano was requested to surrender, but he bravely refused, and held off the enemy until relief came,

and finally compelled Oglethorpe to withdraw. During this trying period, when the people were on the verge of starvation, it was Bishop Tejada who kept up the courage of his suffering flock.

Having labored for ten years in Florida, Bishop Tejada was, in 1745, transferred to the See of Yucatan. From there in 1752, he was promoted to the wealthy and populous diocese of Guadalajara, the largest city, next to the capital, in Mexico. After a most saintly life, he there died in the odor of sanctity, on December 20, 1760.

A successor to Bishop Tejada arrived at St. Augustine in the person of the auxiliary, Rt. Rev. Pedro Ponce y Carrasco, who resided there from 1751 till 1755. During 1762-1763, Bishop Pedro Agustin Morell de Santa Cruz of Santiago de Cuba, exiled by the English when the latter captured Havana, labored most zealously among the Floridans in and around the city of St. Augustine. He conferred the Sacrament of Confirmation on six hundred and thirty-nine persons. Of the Indian settlements little was left, however. In 1753, in four small stations close by, only one hundred of the neophytes continued in charge of the Church. The others, who once in the territory numbered 30,000, had disappeared.

In order to recover the Pearl of the Antilles, Spain on February

10, 1763, ceded Florida to the English, and Bishop Morell returned to Cuba. Most of the Spanish inhabitants remained in the territory, but soon the arbitrary and rapacious conduct of the first British commander led to a general emigration. In direct violation of the treaty, the Bishop's house, Shea relates, was seized for the use of the British troops, and extensive barracks were erected on the old foundations, with lumber imported from New York. A general destruction was inaugurated. Of the suburbs of St. Augustine no trace was left, save the little church in the Indian town north of the city, Nuestra Senora de la Leche, and this was converted into a hospital. The steeple of the Franciscan church stood like a monument of the sacrilegious work, and the parish church was soon little more than a ruin.

"At the time, the Spaniards left the town, 1763," says one historian, "all the gardens were well stocked with fruit trees, such as figs, guavas, plantain, pomegranates, lemons, limes, citrons, shaddock, bergamot, China and Seville oranges; the potherbs, though suspended in their vegetation, were seldom destroyed by cold."

In June 1784, in fulfillment of the treaty between England and Spain, Florida, after twenty years of British occupation, was again ceded to the Spanish crown. This time the English residents left the country, and went to the Bahamas, Jamaica, or the United States, though a few remained.

In 1819, finding the possessions in Florida utterly worthless for the Spanish treasury, nay, a heavy expense, the King of Spain at last agreed to transfer the whole territory to the United States for five million dollars. Accordingly, on July 10, 1821, the standard of Spain, which had been raised over St. Augustine by Menendez two hundred and fifty-six years before, was lowered, and the Stars and Stripes rose, let us hope, never to be replaced by any other flag.

Long before that date, however, finding their occupation as Indian missionaries gone with the disappearance of the natives, the Franciscans had retired, or the places of those who had died at their post had not been refilled. In the absence of official reports, it is impossible even to guess the number of Franciscans who labored in Florida either as Indian missionaries or as assistants to the parish priests. The six Baptismal Records, which date from June 25, 1594, when the first Spanish child was entered, down to December 16, 1763, which closes with the raising of the English flag, contain the names of thirty-three Franciscan Fathers, who officiated at the parish church, sometimes as acting pastors. On the return of the Spaniards in 1783, two sets of registers were arranged, one for the whites and one for the negroes and mulattoes. The priests in charge, were Rev. Thomas Hassett, pastor and Rev. Michael O'Reilly, assistant. The first entry in the Libro de los

Blancos is dated October 8, 1784. The first in the Libro de los Negros y Mulattos bears the date of August 1, 1784. Hitherto all entries had been made in Spanish. Rev. Hassett began to write them in Latin in excellent order, until the year 1788, when Rt. Rev. Cyrillo de Barcelona, Auxiliary Bishop of Cuba, came over to make the canonical visitation. On finding the entries in Latin, he forbade the sensible innovation to be continued, and thereafter all entries were again made in Spanish as was the case in Mexico, and other countries under Spanish dominion. His note to that effect in the books is dated September 17, 1788.

(TEXAS)

I

Although organized missionary activity in Texas did not begin until about the close of the seventeenth century, this territory was traversed by Catholic pioneers long before that period, long before non-Catholic adventures appeared anywhere on the American Continent. If the readers of the Franciscan Herald will turn to the issue of May 1913, they will find that Cabeza de Vaca with three companions of the illfated Narvaez expedition, after spending six years on Texan soil, and enduring the hardships of enslavement by savage Indians, made their way westward across the whole southwestern border of the present State of Texas, entered northern Chihuahua, and finally reached Culiacan, Sinaloa, on May 1, 1536. It is not improbable that Fr. Juan Jaurez, the Franciscan commissary, and the Franciscan missionaries, who accompanied Narvaez, were like Cabeza de Vaca, cast on the southeastern shore of Texas and perished there.

In 1542, Moscoso led the survivors of the De Soto expedition into Texas near the northeastern corner, westward or southwestward to a point in the upper Brazos River, and back across the Red River.(*) Other expeditions, even missionary attempts from Mexico in the former part of the seventeenth century might be mentioned, but they are more properly treated in connection with El Paso district and New Mexico. Besides, there is no intention of presenting a complete

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* See Franciscan Herald, June 1913.

history, but only a sketch of the missions and missionaries in the central and eastern district of the largest State in our fair Union.

Here, as in Florida, the messengers of the Gospel were Friars Minor and Spaniards; and here, as in Florida, these heralds of Christ were often sorely hampered by the conditions created in the Spanish dominions through the subjection of the Church to the whims of royalty and royal ministers which they were pleased to style "Union" of the Church with the State. That, in spite of such drawbacks, the missionaries could Christianize Mexico, whole South America, and the Philippine Islands, demonstrates extraordinary assistance from on High, as well as sagacity and zeal in those whom Divine Providence selected to spread the doctrines of salvation.

As in the case of Florida, after the reign of Philip II, so in Texas, the Spanish kings and their ministers rarely, if ever, took any decisive action purely for the sake of religion, or even chiefly for the spread of the Gospel among the heathen peoples. Politics determined any important move that favored Religion. So fear of being preceded by some foreign power occasioned the activity in behalf of Texas, which urgent appeals from zealous missionaries had failed to arouse.

It is gratifying to note that, of late years, in Texas a remarkable taste for historical research, a veritable hunger for the facts of history, has been awakened, equaled only by a like critical demand for the truth in California. This augurs well for the honor of Mother Church. The Church will only gain by the revelations; for, the discoverers, pioneers, heroes in temporal as well as in the religious field, belong to her. True, there were some who reflected no credit upon her, any more than upon themselves; but, it was because they abondoned her guidance, and yielded to influences hostile to her. For the misdeeds of such unworthy sons, Mother Church, therefore, can not be held responsible. The good a man does, he performs in virtue of his good principles, in the case of the Catholics, always derived from his religion and inculcated by a divine institution, the Catholic Church. To her, then, and ultimately to Christ, her Founder, the credit is due for the good intent and the good effort and its success. On the other hand the evil a Catholic does, is the consequence of his departing from the principles of his religion, and therefore altogether due to himself, and he alone must be blamed.

Non-Catholic investigators have at last begun to see the justice of this simple reasoning. They are making the requisite distinction, and the result is an honest and just presentation

of historical facts. Pecadillos, or petty faults in man, are no longer taken in account, because they do not influence a work, and because they are inseparable from human individuals, and therefore to be found in the investigators themselves. Historians now endeavor to bring out the facts and whatever prompted or seriously influenced such facts for good or bad. If pecados occur, not once, but often enough to demonstrate a purpose or character or cause or effect, then such pecados are dwelt upon; but the individual alone takes the blame, not his religion or denomination, unless a close connection between the two can be established.

Honest investigators have discovered, some with more or less chagrin according to the extent and degree of their prejudices, that, notably in the history of the Great Southwest, Catholic faith, prompted all the good effected or aimed at; and that the evil was in every case due to the individuals, secular or ecclesiastic, who acted in opposition to the principles of their Faith and their Church. The consequences in some cases have been startling. Even with those, who from their childhood had been drilled into the belief that the Catholic Church is the embodiment of everything wicked, deep-seated prejudice gave away to a certain degree of veneration for the Institution that could produce such wonderful effects through its missionaries with such little means, in the face of most disheartening obstacles, and among

savages. Such men of thought and honesty of purpose, having studied the situation, could never be induced to join the defamers of the Church. From them we may, consequently, hope for correct statements on questions of fact, though they will not always be able to enter into the spirit of the missionaries.

As an illustration, I may cite the case of a book-reviewer of the San Francisco Chronicle who lately published a "Life" of Fr. Serra, the revered Father of Christianity and civilization in California. This reviewer, apparently not in a hostile spirit, persistently applies the obnoxious epithet "fanatic" to Fr. Serra on the question of religion and monastic practices. With such critics ardor, fervor, zeal, sincerity, and absolute unselfishness signify nothing more than fanaticism. So little do they know of the true spirit of Christianity.

Another case in point is that of a lady at the head of the reference department in one of the largest public libraries of California who, perhaps, more than any other knows the literature of California, especially of the missions. Some years ago, she acknowledged to the writer: "Father, I did not understand the mission history until I became a Catholic." It was the light of Faith that enabled her to penetrate the motives of the missionaries and the meaning of it all, and brought into clear view what

she had not detected before. Not till then did the glorious history of the missions become intelligible, whereas before it had appeared an insoluble puzzle.

The standard authorities of the Texas Missions are Fathers Isidro Espinosa[1] and Juan Domingo Arricivita,[2] both members of the Franciscian Missionary College of Santa Cruz, Queretaro. Both had labored among the Indians of Texas, and they can therefore, be relied on for whatever statements they were pleased to transmit to posterity. Unfortunately, both wrote for edification rather than with a view to exact information on all points that interest the critical historian. Hence it is that dates, the exact location of a mission, minute reports on the successes of missionary efforts, etc. are lacking.

Happily all the personal letters and duplicates of the original reports etc., from which both Fathers compiled their edifying narrative, have been preserved at the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz, where I saw them in 1905, but had neither time nor means to investigate. Fortunately however, an enthusiast on Texas history, Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, Professor of American History at the University of California, formerly of the Texas University, Austin, with his likewise enthusiastic pupils, notably Professor William E. Dunn of the Texas University, and Miss Anne E. Hughes, author of The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District, had the

documents of that monastery copied, and is bringing out the exact account in detail, though, of course, only from a secular point of view. From this new school of American historians, begun by Bandelier, Lummis, Hodge, and others, we may expect fair treatment of the Fathers and their missions. That much paves the way for the Catholic historian, who with the limitations usually forced on him, such as want of means, assistance, encouragement, etc. could not collect, much less digest the huge mass of material accumulated in the various archives of Spain and Mexico. I shall avail myself of the discoveries of the gentlemen named wherever necessary, with due regard for the rights of authorship, albeit nothing more than a clear sketch is intended.

(1) Author of the "Cronica Apostolica y Seraphica" folio, 662 pages Mexico, 1746.

(2) Author of the "Cronica Apostolica y Serafica" (Segunda Parte, or Continuation of Fr. Espinosa's volume), folio, 630 pages Mexico, 1792.

Alarmed that the French had presumed to encroach upon a territory claimed by Spain, as indicated in the preceding chapter, Viceroy Marquez de Laguna of Mexico, in 1686, had the northern Gulf coast searched for the whereabouts of the enemy; but no sign of a foreign invasion could be discovered. Likewise, Viceroy Conde de Monclova, in 1687, despatched two brigantines to the shore of Texas, but, although fragments of a wrecked vessel were found, Fort St. Louis, several miles up the Garcitas River, escaped their scrutiny. Land expeditions also were led out from Coahuila under Captain Alonso de Leon, and crossed the Rio Grande; but their efforts were not crowned with success until the year 1689. In that year, Captain Leon, with nearly one hundred men set out from the presidio of Coahuila to make his fourth attempt. This time he was accompanied by Fr. Damian Mazanet of the Franciscan Province of Jalisco, who kept a diary of the expedition.

Fr. Mazanet's observations were related in his "Carta" to Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, a noted author and editor of his time. The "Carta" was reproduced in fac-simile, April, 1899, in The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, where it covers twenty-six and one-third pages. The translation by Miss Lilia M. Casis extends from page 281 to page 312 of the same issue. The translator, however, appears to be unacquainted with Catholic terms. That would account for the many inaccuracies and incongruities. For instance, Fr. Mazanet, in speaking of the friars in Texas, with one or two exceptions, uses the term religioso. This Miss Casis invariably renders into English by "priests". Yet, lay brothers

figure in Texas history from the beginning. Spanish is so thoroughly Catholic a language that non-Catholics are liable to perpetrate the most remarkable errors, unless they consult educated Catholics whenever a Catholic subject is treated. What, for instance, will the ordinary Catholic Mexican or Spaniard think of the intelligence of a noted professor of Spanish at a well-known public high school in the West, who soberly translated La Fiesta de la Impresion de las Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco by The Feast of the Squeezing-out of the Sores of our holy Father St. Francis!! Fortunately for the publisher of the work, the manuscript was submitted to me before publication.

Fr. Mazanet is the founder of the Texas missions. Many of his letters, written by himself, and still plainly legible after more than two hundred years, are in my possession. Hence we need not depend on second-hand authority for the facts concerning the establishment of the missions. For the present, we shall follow Fr. Mazanet into Texas and down the Gulf of Mexico in search of La Salle's Fort St. Louis. As this French settlement was the immediate occasion for the founding of the first mission, it is well to secure the facts concerning the discovery of the locality of La Salle's Fort directly from the discoverers.

"We left Coahuila on the 26th of March, 1689." Fr. Damian Mazanet writes in his "Carta", "and went as far as the Rio del Norte, which in this province of Coahuila is called the Rio Grande. We traveled on toward the northeast and at times east-north-east, until we reached the Rio de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe. The Indian (guide) replied

(to a question) that the village (of the French) was about fifteen leagues distant from the river. On the morning of the next day, Captain Alonso de Leon asked me what we should do in order to ascertain the number of Frenchmen and the condition of things in their village. With regard to this, there were various opinions, mine being that, since we had with us the Quems Indian, who was well acquainted with the country, we should all have a Mass sung in honor of the Blessed Virgin of Guadalupe that very morning, at the very place in which we were; also, that when we should succeed in reaching the dwellings of the French, we should have another Mass celebrated in honor of St. Anthony of Padua. All consented very readily to this, and soon, at about nine o'clock in the morning, the Mass in honor of the Virgin was sung."

"After traveling some four leagues, the rear-guard saw an Indian come out of a dense wood, and called to him; whereupon, he came toward them. He said that, as to the people living farther on, they used to inhabit houses which no longer existed, for, two moons previous, the Indians of the coast had killed all but a few boys, whom they had carried off. We went with this Indian to his village, and reached it at about three o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the Indians became aware of our presence, they made for the woods. The Indian who served as our guide, himself entered the wood, and called to the others that they should have no fear. Some of them, and among these was their chief, came out and embraced us, saying 'Techas! Techas!' which means 'friends! friends!' One of those who

came out first, was a tall young man about twenty years old, who wore a cloak of a Recollect friar (1). Recognizing it as the mantle of a friar, we took it from him, and gave him a blanket. That night we slept in the neighborhood of the Indian village. At eight in the evening, some Indians came to the place where we were, one of them dressed after the fashion of the French."

"We started the next morning (2), and three leagues off we found the village of the French (3) on the bank of the stream, as I had been told by the two Indians. We arrived at about eleven in the forenoon, and found six houses, not very large, built of poles plastered with mud, and roofed over with buffalo hides, another large building where pigs were kept, and a wooden fort made from the hulk of a wrecked vessel. The fort had one lower room which was used as a chapel for saying Mass, and three other rooms below. Above the three rooms, was an upper story serving as a store house, wherein we found six loads of iron, not counting scattered pieces and some steel, also eight small guns and three swivels made of iron, the largest pieces being made for a charge of about six pounds of shot. The pieces and one swivel were buried, and Captain Alonso carried off two of the swivels. There was a great lot of shattered weapons, broken by the Indians--firelocks, carabines, cutlasses--but they had not left the cannon, only one being found. We found two unburied bodies which I interred, setting up a cross over the grave. There were also found some torn books and a number of dead pigs."

"On the next day (probably May 2), we set out on our return trip to the Guadalupe River. Through that day and night, I tried my utmost to show all possible consideration to the chief (of an Indian village), giving him two horses and the blanket in which I used to sleep, for I had nothing else which I could give him. I exhorted him through an interpreter that his people should become Christians, and bring into their land priests who would baptize them, because otherwise they could not save their souls, adding that, if he wished, I would go to his country. The chief at once replied that he would take me there cheerfully. I told him that I should go to bring other religious like myself, and that in the coming year, at the time of the sowing of corn, I should be there. The chief was much pleased, and I still more at seeing the harvest to be gathered among so many souls as are in those regions that know not God."

"Thus upon the banks of the Guadalupe River, " says Clarke p. 183, January, 1902), "the Texas Mission was conceived. The missionary Fathers of Mexico already had their eyes turned with zealous longing towards this nation of superior savages; but events hitherto had not been favorable to the establishment of a permanent mission among them. Now by the chance cooperation of temporal circumstances an opportunity was to be offered that held a promise of success for the efforts of the priests."

"The next day," Fr. Mazanet continues, "was the feast of the Holy Cross, May 3. After holy Mass, the chief of the Texas Indians

left for his home, and we set out for this place. We arrived at the presidio of Coahuila on May 15. Captain Alonso de Leon at once sent the two (captured) Frenchmen—the one named Juan Archebepe (L'Archevêque) of Bayonne, the other, Santiago Grollete—from Coahuila to Mexico with Captain Francisco Martinez. His Excellency, the Conde de Galve (viceroy of Mexico), had the Frenchmen provided with suitable clothes and then despatched to Spain in the same year, 1689. All this news did not fail to create excitement and to give satisfaction not only to His Excellency, but also to other men of note in Mexico. Several meetings were held in order to consider measures for keeping the Frenchmen from gaining control of these regions, and for introducing missionaries of religious orders into that country."

Considerable doubt has prevailed heretofore with regard to the exact location of La Salle's Fort St. Louis.

"This question is debatable no longer," says Dr. Bolton in the Austin American, July 19, 1914, "for it is settled once for all by newly discovered records which are corroborated by archeological and topographical investigation. . . .It is exactly where Cardenas's (*) ~~his~~ map shows La Salle's settlement, on the west bank of the Garcitas River, about five miles above its mouth, and on the highest point of the cliff-like bank of that stream." With the aid of Cardenas's map, Dr. Bolton identified the site on July 4 of this year.

(*) Manuel Joseph de Cardenas, as master of fortifications and mapmaking, had accompanied another expedition to Fort St. Louis in 1690.

II

Let us begin by explaining the origin and meaning of the name Texas. "The testimony of sources", says Dr. H. E. Bolton "warrants the conclusion that before the coming of the Spaniards the word Texas had a wide currency among the tribes of eastern Texas: that its usual meaning was 'friends'; and that it was used by the tribes about the early mission, at least, (to whom especially it later became attached as a group name), to designate a large number of tribes who were customarily allied against the Apaches. While the name Texas, as used by the tribes in the eastern portion of the State, was thus evidently a broad and indefinite term applied to many and unrelated tribes occupying a wide area, it is clear that the native group name for most of the tribes about the Neches and Angelina valleys was Hasinai, or Asinai," whom the French writers mention as "Cenis."

All this agrees with Fr. Francisco Casanas de Jesus Maria, who, after a residence of a year and three months at the Mission of San Francisco de los Tejas, had this to say of the name Tejas. "I observe that the name Texias includes all the friendly nations; this name is common to them all, though the language may be different. The friendly nations, which by another name are called Texias are as follows." He then mentions twenty tribes, which with the nine tribes of the Asinais constitute the Tejas Nations.(*)

Texas was claimed by Spain, and Spanish missionaries were eager to announce the truths of salvation to the numerous heathen tribes that roved over the territory; but, as usual, it required the incentive of a menace from foreign invasion before the royal government would go to the expense of sending an expedition to the country and allowing missions to be established among the natives. This threatened danger came with the efforts of the French to found a colony on the Texas coast. In 1684, the Sieur de La Salle returned from Canada bringing encouraging reports of the lands he had explored. Flushed with grand projects for new conquests, he proposed to King Louis XIV a scheme which would deprive Spain of a large part of her territorial possessions. The beginning was to be made with a settlement near the mouth of the Mississippi River. The French King seems to have been willing enough to strike a blow at Spain by assailing her American interests, for, on April 14, 1684, La Salle received his commission to conquer and govern the portion of North America which extended from Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois River to New Biscay.

This turn of things will, doubtless, appear strange to Catholics. Was not the Spanish ruler a Catholic, "The Most Catholic King", as his official title runs? Did not the French monarch claim to be a Catholic, "The Most Christian King", as his

title good? How then, could the latter without provocation antagonize the other with a view to seize territory? Evidently, the French ruler, in this case, did not first and above all seek the Kingdom of God and His Justice, nor the glory of God and the spread of the Gospel. When reading the history of European kingdoms and empires, one frequently encounters such anomalies, especially since the wretched upheaval in the sixteenth century, which produced the devil's copy of Christianity, as Father Faber styles Protestantism. Kings and princes have emancipated themselves from God. His laws interfered with their selfish plans. In turn, we need not wonder, that nations have emancipated themselves from kings and rulers, frequently with no other result than to be tyrannized by men who recognize no other law than self-interest. In order to bring people and politicians to their senses, Almighty God will have to resume the direct exercise of His authority which the Israelites rejected for the purpose of having a king. That was long ago; and since then puny creatures have tried everything, and have not yet discovered a way to be content and happy without God's rule. However, this is a digression from the subject.

Having received his commission, La Salle was authorized to enlist soldiers, and to say, from the rabble of Paris. For the transportation of this ill-sorted company, consisting of about two hundred and eighty people—seamen, soldiers, artisans,

women and children—the leader secured four vessels: the Joli, a ship of the French navy, the store ship Aimable, the frigate Belle, and the St. Francis. On July 24, 1684, the expedition sailed from the port of Rochelle, and eight months later, about the middle of February 1685, having missed the mouth of the Mississippi, passed through the narrow channel between Matagorda Peninsula and Matagorda Island into Matagorda Bay, or Bay St. Louis, as the French called it.

When all had landed, La Salle for the first time revealed the object of the enterprise. Several priests had been deceived into accompanying the expedition. Among them were three Franciscan Fathers: Fr. Zenobius Membre, who had previously accompanied La Salle to Illinois and then down the Mississippi River; Fr. Anastasius Douay, and Fr. Maximus Le Clerq. In addition, three Sulpitian Fathers had joined the company: Rev. John Cavalier, brother of La Salle: Rev. Chefdeville and Rev. D'Ecausseville. When the latter heard the real purpose of the undertaking, he declared he would return to France. He had come, he said, to war against demons, not against Christians, i. e. Spaniards. True to his word, he sailed away in the Joli, which had orders to return on reaching the destination of the emigrants.

Only the Aimable and the Belle had reached Matagorda Bay with the Joli, for the St. Francis had been captured in Septem-

ber by Spanish cruisers off the Island of Santo Domingo. This incident had an important bearing on subsequent events, since it was from the prisoners thus taken that the Spaniards first learnt of the intention of La Salle to found a settlement on the Gulf coast. Alarmed by this news, the viceroy of Mexico at last permitted some Franciscan friars to enter Texas, as will be related in the proper place.

Meanwhile La Salle moved his company several miles inland up the Garcitas River, about five miles from its mouth, according to Dr. Bolton, and there established Fort St. Louis. From this point, according to Shea's 'Colonial History', he made excursions and succeeded in forming an alliance with Cenis or Asinais Indians. Tired of waiting for supplies and fearing capture by the Spaniards, the leader set out from the fort with a party, intending to reach the Mississippi and to return with such forces as he could gather. At the fort, he left about twenty persons--to this number sickness, accidents, and misfortunes had reduced the company to two hundred and more people. With the survivors remained Fathers Membre and Le Clerq, and the Sulpitian Rev. Chefdeville. On his march, La Salle was accompanied by his brother, the Rev. Cavalier, and Fr. Anastasius Douay. La Salle three times endeavored to cross the Mississippi to obtain relief, but he was finally murdered by one of his own men. Fr. Douay

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